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ABSTRACT

EARLY HISTORY OF FEMALE EDUCATION IN INDIA

The education of women had always been a characteristic feature of Indian life but during the chaos that followed the collapse of the Moghul Empire in the 18th century, it declined sharply from the difficulty of providing it in such turbulent times. The rise of missionary activity in the 19th century brought its revival as a useful auxiliary to proselytism. The full story of this educational activity is to be found in the Records (Letters of individual missionaries, Memoranda, Minute Books, Annual Reports, Account Books, Pamphlets, periodicals and newspapers) of the various missionary societies which so far as appears have never been examined from this point of view. An examination of these records reveals the silent patient labours of many obscure individuals which alone made the work of their more illustrious successors possible.

The Government, overscrupulous in the observance of its pledge of religious neutrality and non-interference with Indian customs, did little for female education during this period, but its individual officers from the Governor-General downwards fostered it and gave it the prestige of their patron In the second half of the 19th century missionary example reinforced by the rise of pure philanthropy unassociated

with proselytising zeal encouraged the adoption of a bolder policy. The rise of the Feminist Movement bringing with it a changing conception of Woman's sphere also gave an impetus to female education in India.

Developing under these influences, female education in India was largely an exotic growth. Social and economic factors cut across purely educational ones, success depended not so much upon the perfection of the plan as upon the personality of those responsible for its execution. Hence the growth of the movement was not uniform and few generalisations can be made about the whole of India. Though there is some correlation between men's and women's education, other factors also considerably influenced the latter, so much so that while men's education made the greatest progress in Bengal, Bombay and Madras were ahead in the matter of female education. Again though literacy was more general in Bombay and Madras, the higher education of women made greater progress in Bengal. Also the Moslems though generally regarded as more backward educationally were more literate and more ready to take advantage of the schools than the Hindus as far as female education was concerned except in Bengal and Sind.

Even though private and governmental efforts combined merely touched the fringe of the problem, they succeeded in demonstrating the crying need for female education. They led to the reorientation of Indian thought on the subject and

Indians saw the need for harmonising education with environment and vice versa. This led to social reforms. By 1882 the methods of future development had all been devised and tested. This thesis is therefore a study of the education of Indian women during its formative period.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF FEMALE EDUCATION IN INDIA.

R. B. Mathur

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BACKGROUND: ENGLAND AND INDIA 1700-1850

Education is a function of Society and educational theories, institutions, and developments must be studied in the light of the Social life and organisation of the particular Community which produces them; much of their value and significance becomes apparent only in this context.

A study of female education in India on Western lines, the introduction of which coincided roughly with the establishment of British supremacy over the whole of that Continent, must begin, therefore with a description of the English and Indian backgrounds at that time - the soil, that is, from which the educational theories and institutions sprung and the soil into which they were transplanted.

Eighteenth Century England, at its best, and at its most characteristic, was gay, optimistic and carefree, with an unquestioning faith in reason. It was "an age of unchallenged assumptions", and men lived in the happy belief that the state of Society and modes of thought to which they were accustomed were "not mere passing aspects of an

ever-shifting kaleidoscope, but permanent habitations, the final outcome of reason and experience." "Such an age does not aspire to progress though it may in fact be progressing; it is thankful for what it has without deep questioning..." It was "a free and easy Society". Though the drinking, gambling and connubial infidelity of the age have probably been greatly exaggerated, there is little doubt that, unlike the Nineteenth Century, it was more occupied with earthly happiness than with "morality". When the most unsuccessful of all great politicians, Charles James Fox said on his deathbed that he had lived "happy", he spoke the truth. He enjoyed Greek, Latin, Italian, and English poetry as much as tramping after partridges, village cricket, gambling or spending a rainy day at Holkham sitting under a hedge learning from a ploughman the mystery of the culture of turnips. Optimism about England was based on a general pessimism about the human race and not on a belief in perpetual world-wide "progress". [1]

This complacency did not exist among those who looked closest at the realities of English life - Hogarth, Fielding, Smollett and the philanthropists who exposed the evils of the time as unsparingly as Dickens himself . They were

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1. G. M. Trevelyan: English Social History, Chapter XI, XII, XIII, especially pages 339-41; 347; 404-5.

responsible for spreading a keener sensitiveness to the needs and sufferings of others, particularly of the poor. Their activities such as the foundation of Charity Schools and of hospitals did something towards mitigating the evils of the age. This "Strong benevolence of Soul" "overleapt the boundaries of race and colour". "Stormy Pity" inspired much of the eloquence and some of the errors of Burke and Fox on India and France. "But even their strictures kept within the limits of the classical and conservative philosophy of the time." Whilst this new humanitarian spirit inspired private initiative, it was not strong enough to stimulate any general movement of reform.[1]

English religious life reflected these tendencies. The Church of England was for all practical purposes a department of the State. "The Anglican preachers, whatever their party, though most markedly among the Whigs, kept the miraculous character of Christianity as far as possible in the background. Their religion was a liberal and rationalistic Christianity, a system of humanitarian ethics, in which the supernatural was left out of sight."[2] "The Anglican Clergy was, and anxious to remain, a branch of the

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1. G. M. Trevelyan: English Social History.

2. E. Halevy: The History of the English People in 1815(3), page 14.

aristocracy." Above all things clergymen must be gentlemen; and to secure this it was of the first importance that they should receive the education which all English gentlemen received.[1] They were drawn from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge neither of which possessed a special organisation for the teaching of Christian doctrine. "At Oxford theology was reduced to one single question asked of all candidates for examination. At Cambridge no theology whatsoever entered into any of the examinations for a degree."[2]

Neither were they possessed of a fanatical religious zeal. The Archbishops and Bishops were appointed by the Crown and these, no doubt, were political appointments. The lower clergy were appointed partly by them and partly by the landowners, usually from among their clients and relatives.[3] The system of accumulative benefices or pluralities was generally prevalent and was sanctioned by Custom.[4] "The Churches actually in existence were empty; and a clergy devoid of conscientiousness or zeal had an interest in their remaining empty. Their work was the easier."[5]

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1. E. Halèvy: The History of the English People in 1815(3) page 15.
2. Ibid, page 13.
3. Ibid, page 16.
4. Ibid, page 17.
5. Ibid, page 20.

English Nonconformity was equally under eclipse in the Eighteenth Century. The Toleration Act and an Indemnity Act minimised the effects of some of the most oppressive legislation passed against them in an earlier period.[1] On the whole the Dissenting Sects in the Eighteenth Century were well satisfied with "the system of semi-legal toleration by which in practice they enjoyed absolute freedom."[2]

"Under this system of toleration the primitive inspiration of Nonconformity began to evaporate. The cessation of religious persecution produced a decline both of uncompromising dogmatism and enthusiastic devotion. Though the sects continued to contain a mass of adherents of the lower middle class attached to the old beliefs and ready to discover and denounce the doctrinal deficiencies of their ministers their zeal was declining under the impact of two contrary influences. First their theologians were increasingly less disposed to give an unreserved assent to the dogma of predestination or to maintain man's absolute impotence to effect his salvation by his own free will... The General Baptists thus separated from Particular Baptists because they maintained that Jesus died not for the elect alone, but for all men without exception."[3]

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1. Such as the Coventicle Act and the Five Mile Act.
2. E. Halévy: The History of the English People in 1815(3) page 26.
3. Ibid, page 27.

Once theological criticism was permitted it did not remain confined to the doctrine of grace alone, and even the fundamental Christian doctrine of Trinity was attacked. Under the spirit of nationalism of the age, at the close of the century the Presbyterians Price and Priestley went as far as to refuse "to admit in Jesus even a divinity of subordinate rank. They regarded Him as no more than a man who enjoyed an intimate union with God, and was endowed with the gift of prophecy and miracle-working." This revived Socinianism, henceforward known as Unitarianism, to distinguish it from the orthodox Trinitarianism under the influence of Price and Priestley infected almost the whole of the Presbyterian body. What religious zeal could survive when the traditional Creed was thus stripped of its leading features.[1]

The "hyper-Calvinism" of the Sects assumed other equally dangerous forms. "If salvation is a gratuitous gift of God, and of God alone, it is not permitted to a man to convert his fellow-men. A minister named Brine developed this thesis and gave rise to long controversy on the point among the Independents and the Baptists... In any Church where it established a footing this quietism destroyed every species of missionary activity."[2]

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1. E. Halévy: The History of the English People in 1815(3), page 28.

2. Ibid, pages 28-29

Thus Dissent was losing all capacity for "propaganda". No doubt there were other causes. English Dissent was organised on the Congregational basis. Every little group that chose to constitute itself a separate body enjoyed strict autonomy. Groups of the same denomination could not combine, and they did not accept the authority of any centralised organisation. Disputes between pastors and congregations or between the two sections of a congregation - the zealous but poor and the rich trustees not particularly remarkable for religious zeal - once begun dragged on as there was no machinery to settle them. Further, as a result of the lack of central organisation, the economic condition of ministers of Dissent at a time when prices were rising was the object of universal complaint.[1]

Thus English Protestantism in the Eighteenth Century was represented by "an Established Church, apathetic, sceptical, lifeless; sects weakened by rationalism, unorganised, their missionary spirit extinct".[2]

The gradual and orderly transformation of this complacent society and its religion was the work of the Wesleyan religious revival which absorbed the shocks of the

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1. E. Halevy: The History of the English People in 1815(3) p. 31.

2. Ibid, p. 32

Industrial and French Revolutions. Political and economic discontent, which might have found expression in social revolutions as on the continent, was given a different form by John Wesley and George Whitefield. The dissatisfied workmen flocked to their sermons and those of their disciples. "The popular ferment took shape as an outburst of enthusiastic Christianity."[1]

This Revival owed its beginning to "John Wesley, whose genius for organisation equalled his genius for Preaching." He began preaching in 1739 and was an immediate success. He formed a skilfully organised "Society" without breaking with the Established Church either on doctrine or on discipline. He preached the Protestant dogma of justification by faith. A man however depraved was capable of being saved by virtue of the Saviour's death, by a sudden movement of illumination. "It was for the Christian preacher by his eloquence to make himself the instrument of the Divine Will, to stimulate 'Conversions'..... to procure for his hearers an immediate sense of holiness, a certainty of Salvation."[2] "In its founder's intention such preachers merely constituted a species of lay third order, whose mission was to complete the work of the clergy and to inspire the Church with the devotion

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1. E. Halévy: The History of the English People in 1815(3) p. 11 and G. M. Young, Early Victorian England, Vol. II p. 470. "Wesleyanism" Bunting said, "is as much opposed to democracy as it is to sin."

2. E. Halévy: The History of the English People in 1815(3) p. 11.

of a genuine Christianity."[1]

At first the Methodists preached in the churches at Bristol, Newcastle and London. Later when the clergy got alarmed and forbade the use of churches, they preached in market places and open fields to huge audiences. "Driven from the Anglican Church, and carried away by the very enthusiasm which they had excited, they drifted almost unconsciously into the sphere of the dissenting sects. Wesley therefore founded a highly centralised organisation consisting of Circuits Meeting, District Meeting and Annual Conference on the frontiers of the Church of England."

Wesleyan influence spread to the Dissenting bodies and to the Established Church. It brought to them "a spirit of reaction against the rationalism and republicanism of the old Nonconformity."[2] The Nonconformist academies which had produced a Priestley and had enjoyed such a high reputation for their academic work declined. "The new preachers were illiterate enthusiasts versed only in the methods of that popular oratory which was best fitted to awaken in the assembled crowd a 'revival' of religious feeling, an emotional or 'experimental' Christianity. The Dissenters drew their members from the lower classes of the population; they were

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1. E. Halévy: History of the English People in 1815(3) p. 32

2. Ibid p. 39

small shop-keepers, small farmers, artisans, and agricultural labourers. The example of Methodism attracted them rather to private religious gatherings held for mutual edification than to the old-fashioned semi-rationalism of a Price well-versed in theology. A young man who could distinguish himself by the fervour of his exhortation or the charm of his eloquence would be called upon to preach and pray more often than the others." Admirers and friends would then urge him to abandon his trade and enter the professional ministry. "He might scarcely know how to read or write, and would enter one of the Academies of his denomination. This pompous designation concealed a very modest reality. For a low fee a minister took a few boarders, and taught them in the intervals of his preaching. His pupils assisted him and went on to preach in the neighbourhood. In their spare time they learnt grammar and spelling; Greek, Hebrew and Theology were out of the question. Dissenters of the old school sorrowfully admitted the intellectual deterioration of their ministers and congregations."[1]

Another effect of Methodism on English Nonconformity was to curb its "spirit of anarchic autonomy". The Methodist

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1. E. Halèvy: The History of the English People in 1815(3), pages 41-2.

   Notice the similarity with the education of W. H. Cavy, the first Baptist Missionary to India.

preacher was able to publich statistics of the growth of its organisation; the Nonconformists Sects could not. Foreign Missions, too, for the conversion of non-believers, could be supported only by congregations combining to send out missionaries at joint expense.[1] Gradually the sects succumbed to a tightening of their organisation.

As their ecclesiastical autonomy weakened so did their individualism in politics. From the beginning Nonconformity had been the religion of the middle-classes, though a few Dissenters had sat in the House of Lords. The more wealthy Dissenters usually joined the Church of England not from religious conviction, but to become gentlemen and aristocrats. The Wesleyan body rendered the transition imperceptible. This acceptance of the "subordinate position" was characteristic of the spirit of Dissent. "The middle-class Nonconformist was content to be despised by the members of a Church which his own family might someday enter. He compensated himself by indulging in even deeper contempt for the common people of the fields or factories from whom his family had emerged... The elite of the working-class, the hard-working and capable bourgeois, had been imbued by the Evangelical movement from which the established order had

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1. E. Halevy: The History of the English People in 1815(3) page 43.

nothing to fear." From 1792-1815 there was an uninterrupted decline of the revolutionary spirit among the sects.[1]

True John Wesley had been driven from the Established Church of which he was an ordained priest. But he left a rearguard under whose "direction the Old Low Church Party was organised, no longer as of old, liberal and rationalist, but pietist, or, as it was termed, evangelical".[2] "The bridge between Establishment and Dissent, as also between anti-Jacobin and Liberal, was found in the small but influential Evangelical Party."[3] Except for Charles Simeon and Isaac Milner of Cambridge, the leading saints (as the Evangelicals were popularly called) were laymen - Wilberforce himself, the Buxtons and the Clapham Sect. The strongest type of English gentleman in the new era was often evangelical.

The Movement spread from below upwards. Until the outbreak of the French Revolution the evangelicals exercised little influence on the latitudinarian Established Church or on the free lives of the enjoying classes. But when these classes saw their privileges and possessions threatened by Jacobin doctrines from across the Channel, a sharp revulsion from French

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1. E. Halévy: The History of the English People in 1815(3), pp. 47-8.
2. Ibid, p. 56
3. G. M. Trevelyan: English Social History, p. 494

'atheism and deism', prepared a favourable soil for greater 'seriousness' among the gentry. Indifferentism and latitudinarianism in religion now seemed seditious and unpatriotic, and a concurrent change in manners took place, from license or gaiety, to hypocrisy or to virtue. Family prayers spread from the merchant's household to the dining room of the country house."[1]

This change to religious "seriousness" though engendered through an anti-Jacobin panic, went sufficiently deep to survive the peace in 1815. "The Victorian gentleman and his family were more religious in their habits and sober in their tone of thought than their predecessors in the light-hearted days of Horace Walpole and Charles Fox. The English of all classes formed in the Nineteenth Century a strongly Protestant nation; most of them were religious, and most of them (including the Utilitarians and Agnostics) were 'serious', with that strong preoccupation with morality which is the merit and danger of Puritan character. In their double anxiety to obey a given ethical code and to 'get on' in profitable business, the typical men of the new age overlooked some of the other possibilities of life. An individualist commercialism and an equally individualist type of religion combined to produce a breed of self-reliant and reliable men, good

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1. G. M. Trevelyan: English Social History, page 493.

citizens in many respects, but 'Philistines'... neither machine industry nor evangelical religion had any use for art or beauty..."[1]

Another set of people who exercised a very important influence on Nineteenth Century England were the Philosophic radicals, better known as Benthamites or Utilitarians. In some ways they were the very opposite of Wesley and Whitefield, though they possessed equal enthusiasm. "Their thorough-going rationalism was in striking contrast with the emotionalism of the Evangelicals."[2] Rapid scientific progress had led to a mechanistic conception of the Universe and the Utilitarians were the chief exponents of this attitude. According to them "the human soul is a compound of elementary feelings, psychical atoms, agreeable feelings and disagreeable feelings, which differ in intensity, duration, number and the manner of their mutual combination. And the laws which govern their association are few and simple, the law of association by likeness and the law of association by contiguity." The art of education would therefore consist in effecting in the minds of children such an association of ideas that the child could no longer separate his personal

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1. G. M. Trevelyan: English Social History./p.493 This will explain the intolerance of men like John Lawrence and the destruction, unwittingly, of native patterns of art by the wives of the missionaries.

2. E. Halévy: The History of the English People in 1815(3), page 206.

happiness from the happiness of others. The art of legislation would consist in producing a similar result in the mind of the adult. For the Utilitarian the science of penology meant the analysis of crime and punishment into their constituent elements, their atoms, and the establishment of an accurate proportion between the two sets of factors. It was simply a science of calculation and reasoning and little beyond. They "neglected as useless learned research, knowledge of the historical growth of law". They embodied "the hatred of the reformer for the traditionalist, of the self-educated man for the University scholar".[1]

The Wesleyan brought hope to all sinners by insisting that every man could be saved through the agency of lay-priests who could help to kindle the divine spark in the human breast. The scientific achievements of the age led the Utilitarians to entirely different conclusions. They embodied the new faith of man in his own powers. There belief in progress was based upon steadily rising incomes and steadily improving standards of living. During the years 1815-30 the purchasing capacity of classes above the wage-earning level "was all but doubled".[2] Inventions were

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1. E. Halévy: The History of the English People in 1815/3). p.206 It is interesting to note how this resembled the decline of the learned spirit among the evangelical sects. See page 10. Thus both led to a certain narrowing of outlook.

2. G. M. Young: Early Victorian England, Volume II, page 417

still coming and there seemed no limit to man's powers and abilities. There was no need of a Deity. From the deism of Paine and Priestley the later intellectuals moved to the position of denying God altogether. Utilitarian propaganda was frankly atheistic.

Despite the theoretical divergence between the two movements in practice they were closely allied. How did this come about? Utilitarianism was a philosophy wholly practical. As such it respected the self-imposed discipline and missionary zeal of the Christian sects. There may be no God and no Kingdom of Heaven to come, but "enlightened self-interest" demanded the postponement of the satisfaction of immediate desires and wants in the interests of future happiness. Happiness could be purchased at the cost of labour and suffering. This law of work implicit in Bentham's moral arithmetic introduced an undeniable element of asceticism into a system which otherwise professed to be based on hedonistic assumptions.[1] Utilitarians, Evangelicals and Classical economists, whatever their beliefs, alike agreed that "by industry and abstinence, the employer may enlarge the market for his goods; by industry, and continence, the workman may increase his purchasing power, and limit the numbers of his

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1. Note the strict education and discipline under which James Stuart Mill brought up his son John.

class: progress like salvation is the reward of virtue, of diligence and self-education; of Providence and self-control." All the evolutionary speculation of the period has for its background Malthus' stoic vision of that remote, austere, divinity, "whose purpose is ever to bring a mind out of the Clod."[1]

No doubt the individualism of the Utilitarians was different from the theological individualism of the Protestants, but it was not radically anti-social. Though confining State-action to narrow limits they did not exclude State intervention altogether. In fact, they looked to the legislature for the establishment of a harmony of interests. Even when they resented Government interference they encouraged the formation of voluntary associations whose members pursued a common policy with regard to an agreed end, surrendering a part of their independence in the process.

From voluntary associations to a co-operation with others was but the next step. The evils and problems of industrial society called for immediate and courageous action. The high rate of mortality in towns, illiteracy, juvenile delinquency, drunkenness, filthy living conditions were facts on which there could be no two opinions. Secular philanthropy

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1. G. M. Young: Early Victorian England, Volume II, page 421.

therefore combined with Protestant Dissent to face them. Here again the cementing force was supplied by the Evangelicals. "Between the secular individualism of Bentham and the authoritarian Christianity of the High Churchman, the liberal Protestantism of the Unitarians, Scottish Calvinism and the Methodist sects, the Evangelicalism of the Low Church Party constituted a series of imperceptible transitions."[1]

Thus in the sphere of education their ideas approximated enough to permit co-operation. The Evangelicals accepted the thesis of Oxford Liberalism that "virtue is the child of knowledge: vice of ignorance: therefore education, periodical literature, railroad travelling, ventilation, and the art of life, when fully carried out, serve to make a population moral and happy."[2] On the other hand the Prospectus of the Rochdale Pioneers, declared with equal felicity as "the objects of 'this Society' ... The moral and intellectual advancement of its members. It provides them with groceries, butcher's meat, drapery goods, clothes, and clogs."[3]

The sentimental humanitarianism of J. J. Rousseau, which earlier had drawn attention to the instruction of children,

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1. E. Halévy: The History of the English People in 1815(3), page 215.

2. Newman: Apologia Note A. Quoted in G. M. Young: Early Victorian England, Volume II, page 418.

3. Ibid.

and had inspired much of the work of Mrs. Trimmer and Mrs. Sherwood in creating a children's literature, was followed up by the Evangelicals through the opening of Sunday Schools. Their object was the sanctification of the Lord's Day and the salvation of souls. The Lancastrian schools, which were distinguished by the employment of monitors for teaching and a system of honours and humiliations for the maintenance of discipline, also derived their inspiration from the same source.[1] But Lancaster was a bad manager and was soon involved in financial difficulties. The British and Foreign School Society was formed to take over these schools and proved "a powerful agency for the promotion of popular education". The promoters of this Society included both Evangelicals and Utilitarians. The latter founded a branch of the Society at Westminster.[2] Religiously these schools were neutral as between the different Christian sects, and that to a certain extent explains why they inspired the hostility of the High Church Party.

Humanitarian activity was the characteristic form in which the religious piety of the Evangelicals snd the

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1. Joseph Lancaster, a Quaker, opened a small school in London in 1798 on these lines. He was said to have borrowed the monitorial system from an Anglican Clergyman, Doctor Bell, who had found it in use in Madras.

2. E. Halevy: The History of the English People in 1815(3), Volume III, page 157.

reforming zeal of the Utilitarians was manifested. Church Evangelical, Dissenter and free-thinking Radical all combined to bring about the abolition of slave-trade and duelling and the promotion of other reforms such as the Reform of Poor Laws.[1]

It is clear that though widely different the two movements ran parallel to each other. Their body of doctrines was "the reflection of an exceptional experience, the religious experience of a nation undergoing a moral revival, its social experience during a revolution in the methods of production". In both cases a broader view was to show that neither was more than a "provisional synthesis" arising from the conditions of the new industrial society. In their expanding, enthusiastic optimism they failed to see that their practical ideals were at odds with their religious professions, and their religious belief was at issue with their intelligence.[2] The Agnostics and Tractarians who denied their introspective ethics and Conservatives and Socialists, who challenged their competitive conception of the State, represent the subsequent reaction against them.

If their narrow outlook dimmed the vision of the

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1. E Halèvy: The History of the English People in 1815(3), pages 81-2.
   G. M. Trevelyan: English Social History, page 495.

2. G. M. Young: Early Victorian England, page 426.

Evangelicals and Utilitarians, it supplied a sharp edge to their efforts. They had succeeded in enforcing upon Society a certain morality and in establishing "the reign of virtue". But something vital was lost in the process. Under their segis the national character was changing; "the ruddy, careless Englishman of the Eighteenth Century, turbulent but placable, as ready with his friendships as with his fists, seemed to be making way for a pallid, sullen stock, twisted in mind and body."[1] The middle-classes were progressively becoming "more regular, sober and respectable, cleaner in body and more delicate in speech." In their efforts to better themselves they were drawing away from the poor. Each sub-stratum was struggling to raise itself and draw away from the one below "accentuating its newly acquired refinements and enforcing them with censorious vigilance."[2]

The failure to appreciate this centrifugal tendency of Society, despite all their zeal, limited their achievements. Class-friction continued to increase in spite of the establishment of "City Missions, Savings Banks, Mechanics' Institutes and Dispensaries, by institutions of every creed and size and object, from the Coal Club, the Blanket Club, and the Ladies' Child Bed Linen Club up to the great societies

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1. G. M. Young: Early Victorian England, Volume II, page 432.
2. Ibid, p. 433

for the diffusion of useful knowledge, religious knowledge, education and temperance, and the provision of additional curates." What use were cheap papers and tracts to a population which could not read them?[1] The passion for education which united the Evangelicals and Utilitarians was partially frustrated by the absence of any foundations on which to build. The Mechanics' Institutes from which so much was hoped "sank into play-centres for serious clerks". Not until national institutions had been modernised by the attacks of the Benthamites on their inefficiency could a national system of education be built up. The antagonism of the sects, which made religion in schools one of the most controversial issues of the Nineteenth Century, further retarded progress. But when the time came the Utilitarians played surprisingly little part in determining the trend of educational development. The rise of Socialist thought of which the Utilitarians were forerunners - note the conversion of John Stuart Mill to Socialism - and the anxiety of the Conservatives "to dish"

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1. G. M. Young: Early Victorian England, Volume II, page 464. In Hull of the 5,000 children who had been to school 800 could not read, 1,800 could not write, just half could not do a sum. From marriage registers it appears that one third of the men and two-thirds of the women were illiterate. In Manchester about 1,810 signers were 52 per cent., the markers 48; by 1838 the proportion had only moved to 55 and 45.

   Also E. Halévy: The History of the English People in 1815(3), pages 152-53.

the" Socialists were factors of greater importance in the subsequent period.

Briefly, then, the zeal of the Utilitarians and Evangelicals made them more effective, and therefore more socially significant than the more complacent Eighteenth Century rationalists. But rapid material progress inspired them with a new faith, and they unhesitatingly subscribed to the dogma of "Progress". Evangelicalism was frankly "emotional"; Utilitarians reduced reason to simple logic and mechanistic laws. Both lacked the broader human sympathies of the Eighteenth Century and were singularly wanting in imagination. Their strength lay in knowing what they wanted, and in evolving the technique of voluntary organisations to achieve their ends. But their unimaginativeness minimised their achievements which might otherwise have been considerably greater. Abroad the effect was, however, still more unfortunate, especially in India; for by their unimaginativeness and lack of human sympathy they certainly contributed, unwittingly, to the widening of the gulf between the races.[1] It happened in this way.

The emotionalism of the Evangelicals and the simple mechanistic conception of human nature of the Utilitarians

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1. H. Kohn: History of Nationalism in the East, page 101

made them less receptive to the true atmosphere of India. Little did they realise that a defeated nation, conscious of a glorious past, needs most delicate and careful handling; that it has to be persuaded out of its prejudices and is too proud to bear being lectured at. It holds the more tenaciously to its supposed traits and culture. It is hyper-sensitive to all criticism, and especially of its womanhood. Moslems boycotted the new English schools and the Hindus sulked only to attend them under economic duress. Even most of the few English-educated Indians showed a marked disinclination to change either their religion or their social habits. This only bewildered the missionaries and the British officials. Their criticisms, to their bewilderment, had the effect of further entrenching orthodoxy. A display of broader humanity and greater appreciation of India's past would have produced better results although what we have said of the two movements has shown that this was not in the nature of things. In subsequent pages we shall examine in detail their impact on India, especially in the promotion of female education.

Anglo-Indian Society[1] in the late Eighteenth Century

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1. The meaning of this term is confusing. Originally it applied to Europeans only. Later on its meaning underwent changes until to-day it is applied mainly to Eurasians. Here it is used in its earlier sense as referring to Europeans who were in India or had served there.

reflected the contemporary attitude in England. The type of Englishman who went out was adventurous, gay and care-free, enjoying life and not particularly preoccupied with "morality". The edifice of administration was being slowly built up, and the Company's political supremacy had not yet been consolidated. A factor in Madras could not be certain in 1799 whether he would end up as the subject of King George and not of Tipa Sultan. The ceremony of the Moghul Court to some extent kept alive the grandeur of Indian supremacy.[1] The lot of European officials was cast in obscure places, where they had to live with the local populations as best they could. Modern communications and most of the amenities of town-life were absent. Englishmen, few in number, had to rely on the good-will of local Society as they were cut off from England until the time of retirement which was far off. This atmosphere led to close contacts and sympathy between the English and the Indians. "The tide of racialism was quite unperceived in the cross-current of mutual contact and interest and there ensued a period of cosmopolitan intercourse."[2] Warren Hastings visiting Benares went "Pundit-hunting", and showed a great interest in the revival of Indian

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1. C. A. Kincaid: British Social Life in India 1608-1937 page 198.

2. P. Spear: The Nabobs.

learning. Men like "Malcolm, Jenkins, Elphinstone.... studied Hafiz and Saadi, commenting on them in a manner which showed they had got into the very idiom and emotion, far closer than to those of Horace and Virgil at their Schools".[1] Politically they believed that there was much that was good in the people. Munro's idea was to confine the Government to the maintenance of peace and order and hope for the day when the Indians would be in a position to take control.[2]

Nor were religious zeal and social morality above the contemporary standards. There is the traditional picture of the older generation of Englishmen, with "their black-wives running about picking up a little rice, whilst their husbands pleased them by worshipping the favourite idol".[3] The Company's officials attended the Hindu and Moslem

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1. E. Thompson: Charles Lord Metcalfe, page 24. By contrast notice the entry in Lord Elgin's Diary near the end of the Nineteenth Century. "It is a terrible business this living among inferior race.... Detestation contempt and vengeance, whether Chinaman or Indian be the object." (G. M. Young: Early Victorian England, Vol. II, page 406)

2. Lord Hastings in 1818: Private Journals Volume II, page 326. Ramsay Muir: The Making of British India, pages 283-5, quoting Munro's Minute. Quoted in J. F. C. Fuller: India in Revolt, page 65.

3. A. Mayhew: Christianity and the Government of India, page 48. Captain Williamson: East India Vade Mecum, Volume I, pages 412-3.

religious festivals. Government offices were closed on such days but open on Sundays.[1]

Socially there was much intercourse between the two peoples. Englishwomen being few and far between, Englishmen accepted Indian customs and kept Zenanas.[2] "Palmer at Poona, Kirkpatrick at Hyderabad, Collins wherever he was, lived in kingly fashion; even Lord Teignmouth, remembered reverently as one of the Bible Society's founders, in younger days had his liaison. Delhi Residency records contain an application for assistance by one of Ochterlony's mistresses after his death, and local tradition tells how, when he was Resident, the gallant soldier's thirteen wives evening by

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1. E. Thompson and Garratt: Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India, page 318.

2. Captain Williamson: East India Vade Mecum, Volume I, pages 453-57. "The number of European women to be found in Bengal, and its dependencies, cannot amount to 250, while the European male inhabitants of respectability, including military officers, may be taken at about 4,000. More ladies could not venture out to India because of expense (outfit alone £500), climate, and lack of introductions. Even if all these things got over then she has to find a lady who'd give her asylum 'until some stray bachelor may carry away the prize'.... Occasionally a lady would 'replenish her hospitable mansion with objects of this description; thereby acquiring the invidious or sarcastic, designation of "Mother Coupler"'. In addition men didn't so easily marry a European wife as they could hardly afford one with all the expenses of sending her and her children to Europe periodically. 'I trust this detail will convince, even the sceptic, that matrimony is not so practicable in India as in Europe; and that, (unless, indeed, among those Platonic few whose passions are

evening took the air on thirteen elephants. Metcalfe had three natural sons through a wife whom he married according to "Indian rites".[1] The "Immorality" of the age has, however, been considerably exaggerated. Quite a few of these mixed unions though not "Christian marriages" in the strict sense of the term had most of the attributes associated with the institution of marriage. The offspring of the upper classes were sent to England for their education and returned to India in the Company's Service, where they often distinguished themselves.[2] An examination of wills in Madras Records has revealed the unsuspected frequency with which British soldiers left their money to their Indian wives and progeny.[3]

The religious revival and the eclipse of aristocratic agnostism in England could not fail to have effects on Anglo-Indian Society. The attacks of the Evangelicals on

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(Footnote continued from page 27)

unnaturally obedient) it is impossible for the generality of European inhabitants to act in exact conformity with these excellent doctrines, which teach us to avoid "fornication and all other deadly sins".'"

1. E. Thompson: Charles, Lord Metcalfe, page 101

2. Colonel Skinner and Colonel Gardiner.

3. Professor Dodwell: who had examined the Madras Records, commented to me.

the Company's policy of excluding missionaries from India resulted, in 1813, in the withdrawal of this prohibition.[1] New officials arrived in India imbued with the spirit of Evangelicalism and soon began to make their influence felt. It was not until the 1830's that they became a major force, but shadows were already falling at the end of the second decade of the Nineteenth Century or even earlier. Metcalfe must have been conscious of "this revolt against the lax morality common amongst the Europeans in the East" when he wrote to his sister in England on October 17, 1819, "....Do what you think best, and let no expense be spared. I have long before explained that I hold myself if possible more bound to secure for these unfortunates (his three sons) all the advantages in my power, than if they had been born under happier auspices, as they must bear through life a stigma inflicted by the fault of their Father."[2] The arrival of Englishwomen in India in greater numbers made this reform possible and the tendency during the course of the Century was for mixed unions to decline.

In England the Evangelicals and Utilitarians had combined to promote greater "seriousness" and "purity" of life;

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1. See page 97

2. Clive Bayley MSS. Quoted in E. Thompson: Charles, Lord Metcalfe, page 179.

they simultaneously also launched a joint attack on the practices of Europeans in India.[1] In 1833 the Directors abolished the connection of the Company's officials with the internal economy of temples and other religious institutions. The attendance of Government officials was no longer compulsory at Indian festivals.[2] Persistent propaganda made it increasingly difficult for Europeans to attend Indian weddings as the Evangelicals objected to "nautch" (dancing-display). Amateur theatre was also gradually deserted by the march of morality which frowned upon such amusements.[3] Here and there a Lord Bentinck may still stand out for the old attitude and plead for a more sympathetic understanding, but such officials became increasingly rare.[4] The English began to believe

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1. Phrases like "Church-warden to Juggernaut" and "Wet-nurse to Vishnu" were characteristic of this propaganda. (See E. Thompson and Garratt: Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India, page 318. Alexander's East India Magazine, Volume II, 1831, pages 473-6; Volume III, 1832, page 419.)

2. Alexander's East India Magazine, Volume X, 1835, page 346.

3. C. A. Kincaid: British Social Life in India 1608-1937, page 134.

4. Alexander's East India Magazine, Volume X, 1835, pages 348-9. Lord Bentinck, in a reply to the query how far the Directors' new instructions were being enforced, wrote from Brussels in August 1835 ~~wrote~~ that these could not be given effect fully for "when such immense crowds are collected, the interference and supervision of the Government, for the purpose of police, and to prevent the loss of life, and other irregularities, will always be requisite....

(Footnote continued on page 31)

that they had a moral mission in India, that they represented a higher civilisation, a better religion. The younger men came out to India and received an impression of a country where crime flourished, and the mass of the people were steeped in a form of savagery which they connected with the Hindu religion.

Even Trevelyan writing in the middle-thirties on Indian education talks of "Suttee, Thuggee, human sacrifices, Ghaut Murders and other excrescences of Hinduism and expressly enjoyed by it."[1] New techniques of propaganda did a great deal to make such ideas current in England. Earlier generations had been introduced to Indian Classics through the

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(Footnote continued from page 30)

"I cannot say that I attach the same consequence to this measure (Abolition of Pilgrim Tax) that you do. As long as we maintain, most properly in my opinion, the different establishments belonging to the Mohammedan and Hindu Religions, we need not much scruple about the tax in question. But this is a subject of controversy, in which you are more likely to be right than myself; but to me it appears like straining at the 'gnat and swallowing the camel!' The best mode of converting the natives of India to Christianity, is, after education, treating their religious views and prejudices with the greatest tenderness and respect."

W. G. Blunt: Ideas about India, page 46. "The Anglo-Indian official of the Company's days loved India in a way no Queen's official dreams of doing now."

1. E. Thompson and Garratt: Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India, page 318. C. E. Trevelyan: Education of the People in India, 1838, page 83.

translations of men like Sir William Jones but naturally such knowledge was confined to a cultured few. The success of "Wilberforce and the anti-slavery men ... introduced into English life and politics new methods of agitating and educating public opinion. The dissemination of facts and arguments ... the tracts, the subscriptions; the public meetings - all these methods of propaganda were systematised ... The methods of Wilberforce were afterwards imitated by innumerable leagues and Societies - political, religious, philanthropic, cultural - which have ever since been the arteries of English life. Public discussion and public agitation of every kind of question became the habit of the English people... Voluntary association for every conceivable sort of purpose or cause became an integral part of English Social life in the Nineteenth Century, filling up many of the gaps left by the limited scope of State action."[1]

Various Societies were formed which kept India in the

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1. G. M. Trevelyan: English Social History, pages 496-7.

See also G. M. Young: Early Victorian England, Vol. II, pages 320-21 for a detailed chart of the growth of voluntary Societies and Institutions. Of the 640 Institutions in existence in 1860 with an aggregate income of £2,441,967, 103 were founded before the Eighteenth Century, 114 during the Eighteenth Century, 279 during the first half of the Nineteenth Century, and 144 during the decade 1850-60. Special attention may be drawn to the growth of Foreign Missionary Societies, the figures for them, in the above order being 1, 4, 34, 20 with an aggregate income of £636,440.

Public eye. Whatever their purpose - the spread of education or the suppression of social evils - they all tended to exaggerate the darker side of the picture. Their names alone will give some idea of the nature of propaganda conducted by them. The Report of "the Coventry Society for the Abolition of Human Sacrifices in India", founded in 1828, notes the circulation of the pamphlet "India's Cries to British Humanity" which drew attention to widow-burning, Ghaut murders etc. The receipts from the second edition "amounted to nearly £400 and the profits devoted to a benevolent object in this City"![1] The ghastlier the picture, the greater the collections.

Naturally such activities, though well-intentioned, tended to spread the idea that India was a corrupt and degraded country. The increase of Puritan intolerance of other religions, and the middle-class suspicion of foreigners and their customs, which thus gained wide currency, had its effect on race relations in India.[2] From the 1830's English officials in Macaulay's words were undertaking the "Stupendous Process" of reconstructing a "decomposed Society". They expressed their contempt for the older type of Company's servants by saying they were "Hinduised" and this attitude

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1. Alexander's East India Magazine, Volume III, 1832, p. 419. Italics mine.

2. C. A. Kincaid: British Social Life in India 1608-1937 page 177.

developed into a kind of racial aloofness which became more marked as Englishwomen began to settle in India."[1] The part played by "Christian propaganda" in encouraging such an attitude should be frankly recognised. An eminent advocate of missions justly records: "Moreover Christians will not do any real service to their cause by attempting to minimise the failures of Christian missionaries in the past in these respects. The enthusiasm, devotion, and self-sacrifice which have ennobled the Christian missionary enterprise throughout its story, and even the personal affection shown by missionaries towards their fellowmen of all kinds, should not blind us to the serious lack of fairness, courtesy, and understanding, which have all too often characterised missionary literature, preaching, and propaganda, in its dealing with the non-Christian faiths. A reaction against it is not only inevitable, but desirable, and in the long run the Christian Church itself will benefit thereby."[2]

This growing racial exclusiveness[3] was facilitated by

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1. E. Thompson and Garratt: Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India, page 330.

2. Reverend E. C. Dewick: The Case for Missions in Modern India, pages 13-14.

3. Alexander's East India Magazine, Volume IX, 1835, pages 362-65. This tendency was a gradual one and had begun before the arrival of the steam-ship: G. M. Young: Early Victorian England, Volume II, page 416. "The French Wars made England insular and conscious of its insularity, as it had not been since the Conquest."

improvements in communications. As passages to England by steam-ship became quicker and cheaper, thoughts of mother-land loomed larger on the horizon of the English in India. With the increasing amenities of town-life larger numbers of English ventured to proceed to India. This was particularly true of Englishwomen.[1] Their arrival made Anglo-Indian Society more "self-sufficient". A small nucleus of Anglo-Indian Society, reproducing English suburban life and thought, came into existence at most of the important stations in India. Piety was a particularly pronounced characteristic of these "ladies". But lack of contact with Indian life and customs aggravated their prejudices. When Mrs. Lushington asked a

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1. Tennant: Indian Recollections (1796). "Formerly female adventurers were few but highly successful. Emboldened by this success and countenanced by their example, such numbers have embarked on this speculation as to threaten to defeat its own purpose... Few in comparison now find themselves in circumstances that invite matrimonial engagements; hence a number of unfortunate females are seen wandering for years in a single and unconnected state. Some are annually forced to abandon the forlorn hope and return to Europe, after the loss of beauty, too frequently their only property." Captain Williamson: East India Vade Mecum (1810), Volume I, page 453, put the number of European women in Bengal alone as 250. Observations on India: By a Resident There Many Years, page 148. Most interesting evidence of decline in mixed marriage comes from the Bengal Military Orphan Society which founded in 1785 recommended the sending of officers' and gentlemen's children mixed, legitimate or illegitimate to Europe for their education. The Directors however agreed to allow only legitimate children of pure European parentage. Contrast this with the attitude of the establishment of Civil Service Fund twenty years later which after a bitter

(Footnote continued on page 36)

senior lady what she had seen of the country and its people since her arrival in India, the latter replied: "Oh nothing, thank goodness. I know nothing at all about them... Really I think the less one knows of them the better."[1] Their optimism about the Conversion of Indians to Christianity was also without foundation. Ladies writing to their relatives in England constantly expressed the hope of seeing India converted. "It is very clear," they would prophesy, pointing to the interest of certain Indians in Western education. They accelerated the growing gulf between the races for "the women then as now were the fiercest advocates of strong measures on all political occasions."[2] Racial exclusiveness, want of a permanent interest in the country, ignorance of its languages and the sore trials of the climate prevented them from doing much towards that end and alienated what otherwise might have been a powerful influence in the education of Indian women.[3]

(Footnote continued from page 35)
struggle between the old and new civilians resulted in a victory for the latter in restricting the benefits of the Fund to children of European parentage only on either side. (See Calcutta Review, Volume XLIV, 1866-7, pages 157-63.)

1. C. A. Kincaid: British Social Life in India, 1608-1937, page 177.

2. Ibid, pages 136 and 165.

3. F. Shore: Notes on Indian Affairs, Volume I, page 163. India Office Tracts 637: Women's Work in Mission Fields,

(Footnote continued on page 37)

Thus during all these years English and Anglo-Indian Societies were growing more prosperous.[1] Both the Utilitarians and Evangelicals, though they had different ends, shared in common a sublime faith in the future - and worked for it with an enthusiasm which seems surprising to us.[2] This faith has embodied in the Classical Minuté of Macaulay in which he hoped to turn Indians into English with the slight difference of pigmentation. The condition of Indian Society, or at any rate what they saw of it, reinforced their faith in their own superiority and in their ability "to educate the natives."

A word therefore is necessary about the state of India when it first felt the impact of the two forces - Utilitarianism and the Evangelical Revival.

(Footnote continued from page 36)

page 13. Indian Female Evangelist, Volume I, page 371. Later on quick transfers of the government officials also prevented their wives from acquiring an interest in local affairs. (See F. Shore: Notes on Indian Affairs, Volume II, page 510.)

1. G. M. Young: Early Victorian England, Volume II, p. 402.

2. Note the collaboration of the Evangelical Charles Grant and the two Mills (G. M. Young: Early Victorian England, Volume II, page 401) at the East India House. Also compare the similar conclusions reached in Ward's History of India with James Mill's work on the same subject. Also the co-operation of Missionary Societies with the Radical Joseph Hume in and outside Parliament (G. M. Young: Early Victorian England, Volume II, page 410).

During the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries, India had been the scene of almost uninterrupted warfare. The collapse of the Moghul Empire saw the rise of petty princelings in almost all parts of the country, whose continual intrigues against each other gave the small number of well-disciplined Europeans in India an altogether disproportionate voice in the affairs of the country. "Nowhere did any consolidating native element exist; every force was a disruptive force; every change presaged only disintegration and decay."[1] In the end the English succeeded by slow and painful stages in becoming the paramount power in India and began the task of restoring law, authority and peace in that sub-continent.

Political collapse had gone side by side with Social degradation. Though the social evils besetting Indian Society have been much exaggerated there is no doubt that it required a radical reconstruction. Wars tend to depress the position of women and children and education is generally its first casualty. Disturbed conditions of the country turned Purdah into a rigid institution and women were kept in seclusion from an early age. Attendance at school was

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1. Sophia Weitzman: Warren Hastings and Philip Francis, page 1.

   M. Elphinstone: History of India, pages 61-2; 49-51.

difficult for they could not be seen on the streets.[1] Conditions were not, of course, uniform all over India though the difference was merely one of degree. In Bengal it was much more rigid than in the West especially Bombay where the Parsi and Mahratta women had the tradition of enjoying greater freedom.

It was perhaps the same desire for safety that had made early marriages more popular, though Shastras and other scriptures were quoted in support of the practice. Girls were married at a tender age and became mothers while still in their early teens. Apart from the ill-physical effects on the constitution of the race, this resulted in their early withdrawals from schools and most of them remained helpless and ignorant.[2]

The prevalence of polygamy, widow-burning,[3] and female infanticide in particular areas further testified to the depressed condition of women. Though these evils have received greater prominence, far more important, from our

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1. It will of course be clearly understood that seclusion applied only to upper and middle classes. Peasant and poorer women of the town could ill afford this luxury. See Missions of the World, September 1894, page 288. W. Stevenson's analysis of the Census Report.)

2. Priscilla Chapman: Hindu Female Education. 1839-p. 35

3. D. C. Boulger: Lord William Bentinck, pages 101-2. The practice was suppressed in 1829.

point of view, was the constitution of Indian Society and the position of widows therein. In England one of the main impulses to female education came from the unmarried daughters of the middle-classes, who, on the death of their fathers (e.g./the Brontës) were often thrown on their own resources for their livelihood. The Hindu joint family system averted any such necessity. No doubt the treatment given to widows was often unsatisfactory and even cruel. Their sorrows have continued to attract much general attention but from the educational aspect the regrettable fact is that a valuable source of supply of teachers was thus closed.

The Caste system too presented a barrier to the spread of instruction among women. Whatever its original advantages[1] it had become very inflexible by the beginning of the Nineteenth Century. The mere touch of certain people was enough to pollute a high-caste man or woman. This resulted in the loss of a community of feeling. There was prejudice against intermixing even in the schools. But there were wide variations. Caste was stronger in Bengal and the South than

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1. There were four main Castes, the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the Baniyas and the Sudras corresponding to Plato's rulers and learned men, soldiers, merchants, and slaves. At first caste went by occupation but in the course of centuries had become hereditary.

in the North, West and Central India.[1] All the same the absence of intimate contact between different castes made the spread of improvements from one to the other very difficult.

Since higher-caste women were more subject to the Social restrictions mentioned above and were more difficult of access, female education in India had to begin with the lower castes, for no economic motive operated in their case as in that of men. This caused education to be shunned by women of higher-castes as a form of Social contamination, and served to reinforce their prejudice that reading and writing were arts meant only for the dancing-girls.[2] But perhaps the most evil effect of caste was in sapping the initiative of the community as, under the prevailing social conditions, an individual was obliged to subordinate his or her freedom not only to the interests of the family, but to the Caste.[3]

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1. Indian Female Evangelist, Volume IV, page 108.
   A. Duff: Bombay in 1840.

2. Adam W. Third Report on Education in Bengal 1838, Section II, Chapter II, page 335.

   Indian Female Evangelist, Volume I, page 159.
   Christian Intelligencer, Volume IV, July, 1834, p. 344.
   Bengal Protestant Missionary Conference 1855, p. 148

3. R. N. Gilchrist: Indian Nationality, Introduction, p. xi.

The Hindus were not the only ones to labour under this handicap. In fact the whole of India was riddled with Caste feelings. Though Islam visualises a social democracy in which Caste has no place none the less the Syeds, the Sheikhs, and the Moghuls regarded themselves as "high-caste Moslems". A Syed displayed as much caste-consciousness with regard to a Julaha (weaver) especially in marriage relations as a Brahmin to a Sudra. Other differences of language and culture were no less pronounced among high-caste Moslems than among the Hindus.

The Christian Church, too, especially in the South, had not remained immune from its infection. Roman Catholic missionaries had in practice accepted the institution of Caste. They went about dressed in saffron robes of the Brahmins and adopted the vegetarian diet.[1] Earlier Protestant missionaries in their zeal for conversions followed the example of the Catholics so that the converts, though repudiated by the Hindus, still retained their original Castes within the Christian fold. This was manifested by the allocation of different places to higher Castes and untouchable converts in the church, and the former were also given precedence at Communion. About the time of Bishop

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1. Abbé Dubois. Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies.

Heber, a strong party emerged among the Christians which wanted to do away with Caste. Still a direct onslaught on the institution was deemed inadvisable and a more cautious approach was indicated. Hence they tried to divide the congregations into male and female for the purpose of taking Communion. If all males, including the lower castes and untouchables, were given Communion first and then the Cup was passed on to high Caste females, there was no doubt an important Caste rule would be broken without inviting much attention. Even so the problem was not easily solved and such efforts met with strong resistance.[1]

The Europeans themselves in India did not remain uninfluenced by Caste.[2] In spite of Macaulay's warning against the danger, they practically formed a caste of "New Brahmins". As members of the ruling race they possessed social and economic privileges, and the growing gulf between the two races only threw their position into stronger relief. This might have been expected, but far more interesting are the divisions in the Anglo-Indian community itself. The civilian, the soldier, the merchant and the missionary formed almost as exclusive groups within European Society in India

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1. Taylor's Memoirs, pages 201-3; Society for the Propagation of Gospel Records: Correspondence of Reverend J. C. and C. S. Kohloff, 1818-46, 4th letter.

2. J. F. C. Fuller: India in Revolt, page 26.
H. Kohn: History of Nationalism in the East, page 90.

as any Indian Castes. This division cannot be explained merely on the basis of the class system in England, for the civilians and Army officers came from the same class while the merchant and the missionary were socially not very far removed. A closer examination of this subject clearly lies in the sphere of the Sociologist.

From the Indian point of view, the Anglo-Indians were hardly the custodians of Social morality. The Moslems smarting under their recent defeat were more bigoted than even the Hindus to whom the Europeans naturally fell in the fifth and lowest Caste, the mlechas. Englishwomen went about with their faces uncovered while to the Indians the Zenana had almost become the symbol of respectability. The Indians saw the outward life of a few of the more notorious Europeans, and, in the absence of a more intimate contact, generalised about the whole Anglo-Indian Society from their example.[1]

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1. Reform and Progress in India: By An Optimist, page 41: "Oh for the Presence of more of England's noblest daughters ... that ... the reproach might be removed from English womanhood brought on it by the thoughtless butterflies of Society, whose frivolity too often tends to gravitate into vice: that when we attempt to argue against the seclusion of females we may not be met by covert allusion to the scandals of English Social life, and find ourselves at a loss for a rejoinder."
   A fine study of misunderstanding due to mutual ignorance occurs in E. M. Forster's Passage to India in which Aziz, the hero, is automatically presumed to be guilty by the European community and innocent by the Indians, neither side suspending judgment on what was obviously a judicial matter.

Psychologically a defeated people hangs on to its social heritage all the more closely and tends to seek justification for its own customs however absurd. The attitude of the Indians was well summed-up by the Hindu dancing girl who, on hearing from Swartz that no unholy person shall enter the Kingdom of Heaven, exclaimed, "Alas, sir, in that case few Europeans will ever find admittance into it." Hence socially the Indians thought themselves superior and showed little inclination to imitate their new rulers. Thus they rarely employed European teachers to instruct their children as they had employed European military experts to reorganise their armies. Hyderabad[1] and Mysore[2] were exceptions to the rule, and at the latter place the Rajah did so more to impress the British Resident than out of enthusiasm for Western education.

The result was that the earlier efforts at female education failed to adapt the social means to cultural ends. Western education was introduced in such a way that the class for which it was most important to absorb its spirit missed it altogether. Its progress was further slowed down by the fact that the bearers of Western culture moved further away socially from the people to whom its benefits were brought.

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1. Letter in Society for the Propagation of Gospel Archives, Madras Series.

2. Indian Female Evangelist, Volume I, page 137.

Hence precept was not re-enforced by example. To Indians refinement of family life and other alleged benefits of female instruction largely remained a matter of conjecture for lack of Social contact between the races. Naturally this impaired the effectiveness of the instruction imparted.[1]

Since female education first embraced lower-caste and poorer children, these had to be in most cases paid to attend school to overcome the additional prejudice against "Christian instruction". Hurkaraus (usually old women), who were employed to collect girls from their homes and bring them to school, had also to be paid. This involved expenditure which could hardly be regarded as strictly educational. Besides dismissal of these Hurkarous or of the non-Christian teachers often led to a considerable defection of girls from schools revealing the weak foundations on which these schools rested.[2]

Though the poorer class girls could be attracted to schools by some form of payment they were no more free from the religious prejudices of the higher castes. In the Nineteenth Century religion, too, had lost much of its purity. Strange beliefs and practices had taken the place of true religion owing to the degeneration of the Brahmins with their

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1. K. M. Bannerjee: An Essay on Female Education, pages 129-30.

2. W. Adam: State of Education in Bengal in 1835, page 66.

perverted interpretation of the Scriptures. They preyed upon the simplicity of the masses by fostering such superstitions as that an educated woman would become a widow.[1] They were interested in keeping the general level of enlightenment low and hence declared the education of women to be against the Shastras. Numerous Poojahs and festivals, whose observance was rigidly enforced on all classes, interfered with the daily lives of the people. Girls absented themselves from schools on these occasions, which were quite frequent, and their instruction suffered in consequence.

It was therefore difficult to get girls to school. When they came it was equally difficult to impart to them regular instruction. Fears were also entertained that education would banish modesty and delicacy among women and that they would spend their time in idle intrigue and writing love-letters.[2] Older women would not hear of these new-fangled ideas of educating women. Education thus excited the envy of one sex and jealousy of the other. Nor were these fears quite unjustified. Some of these half-educated English-speaking women were divided by a wall of literary pride and supposedly useful knowledge from the rest of the people. Their understanding of the spirit of the West went little

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1. W. Adam: State of Education in Bengal, Edited by A. Basu, page 187.

2. Ibid.

further than the adoption of superficial customs and manners, which in their turn prejudiced others against foreign innovations. They often disdained housework and occasionally disturbed the peace of the family by laughing at the incorrect grammar of their men-folk. "It was her father's fault," he added, "for educating his daughter and then giving her in marriage to an uneducated man." Some of these fears were without any foundation - in fact, the missionaries displayed a constant anxiety and took great care not to educate girls above the stations to which they would be called in life,[1] not the shallow individual but western education as such was judged.

Opportunities of useful employment for women following on education were few in number. Some perhaps could be employed as teachers, but the difficulties in the way of a young girl living alone were numerous. It was not respectable for her to do so. It was not yet the age of railways, telegraphs and telephones which opened to women fresh avenues of

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1. B. W. Noel: Sermon on Female Education in India, April 1834, page 11. "But the question occurs, whether there is not a danger of extending female education beyond the education of men; and also, whether these young children, thus educated beyond their station and circumstances, will not be exposed to greater misery afterwards, because educated Hindu youths, disgusted with the uneducated women of their own class, and yet ashamed to marry those who have lost caste, will be tempted to seduce them from the path of virtue."

employment. Education tended to make the girl discontented with her semi-educated catechist husband. It was of little utilitarian value as in any case "she was not going into offices to earn money".[1]

Poorer people could not afford to take risks with the education of their daughters which hardly promised economic returns. The general poverty of the country prevented them from sending their daughters even to schools that were free as their labour was too valuable in the home to be spared. Female education was a luxury which the vast majority of Indians could ill afford. Major Baring the Finance Member of the Government of India estimated the income per head at Rs27 a year compared with £33 in England, £23 in France and £9 in Turkey.[2] Where rapid progress was made, it was associated with an existing economic prosperity. Thus the Parsi Community which educationally and socially was as backward as any other until 1843[3] made rapid progress with the

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1. India Office Tracts: Women's Work in Mission Fields, page 13. Indian Female Evangelist, Volume I, page 159.

2. Bombay Provincial Education Committee Report 1882, Appendix, page 89.
This can hardly be exaggerated. The disturbed conditions of the Eighteenth Century and the maladministration of Bengal and other territories under the Company had contributed towards it. When the administration improved the influx of cheap manufactured goods from England led to a destruction of cottage industries which further increased the general distress. (Calcutta Review 1883, page 366.)

3. J. N. Farquhar: Modern Religious Movements in India, page 83.

rise in their standard of living.

But here we are anticipating events. As noted before the pacification of India was not completed until the second decade of the Nineteenth Century. Indian Society was unsettled and was just beginning to reconstruct itself upon the new basis of British supremacy. The older aristocracy was being replaced by the supporters of the British - men like Ram Mohun Roy who had made money through commerce or as agents of the British and now bought up lands. The new landlords, especially in Bengal, with few such exceptions as the Tagores, were largely absentees and lived for the most part in Calcutta or in other towns. They took little interest in the affairs of the countryside. When it is remembered how much social progress in England owed to private individuals who on retiring from active life settled in quiet country places, devoting the evening of their lives to the promotion of philanthropic activities, the adverse effect of the absence of such a class in India on the spread of female instruction can scarcely be visualised. British officials, and even missionaries on retirement, seldom settled down in India. On the contrary the tendency from 1830 onwards was for officials to be transferred from one district to another with greater frequency. This minimised the influence of even those who were specially interested in promoting women's education. Apart from the widening gulf between the races,

there were thus no nuclei or centres dotted over a province from which Western culture could spread. This would at least partly account for the limited and predominantly urban character of the movement for female education in India.

Further the financial position with regard to education was not very much better. During the disturbed years educational endowments had been diverted to other purposes.[1] Appeals were now made in vain to the Government to restore them to education.[2] The urban Hindu middle-class which British rule fostered and encouraged had not yet come into existence - it later demanded and even paid for education. But (as it was) the old was disappearing before the new had come into being. Also India did not know organised charity in the form of large bequests which gave such an impetus to female education in England.[3] Though individuals sometimes gave handsome donations, "the giving of alms was almost entirely regulated by religious rites or national customs - discriminating charity being an operative principle which

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1. In England the "educational charities" needed to be reformed and were being attacked. See G.M. Young: Early Victorian England, Volume II, page 342.

2. Friend of India, October 6, 1836, page 343; Ibid, May 11, 1837.

3. A. Zimmern: Renaissance of Girls Education in England.

they had yet to learn".[1] The resources were too small in comparison with the magnitude of the task and reliance on private charity made the planning of a long range policy extremely precarious.

Social, economic and political conditions in India were therefore unfavourable to the spread of female instruction. The picture of India's women has been necessarily grim and sombre, but it needs to be qualified. "Education," says Thomas, "is no exotic in India. There is no country in the world where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting an influence." Despite the general decline, female education survived among the Nayars in the South for the prevalence of the matriarchal form of descent[2] made it valuable. According to a distinguished anthropologist British influence even curtailed their existing freedom.[3]

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1. Priscilla Chapman: Hindu Female Education 1839, page 53. For comparison with England see G.M. Young: Early Victorian England, Volume II, pages 318-329. " ... British Charities, which had increased so remarkably during the last hundred years ... hospitals and dispensaries, loan funds and doles, endowed Schools, pensions and annuities, private penitentiaries and reformatories, all founded and supported by private benevolence ... "

2. Thurston: Castes and Tribes of India, Volume V, page 412. Baron Omar Rolf Echrenfels: Mother Right in India (1941) page 4.

3. Ibid, page 68. " ... the patriarchal tendency to deprive women of their independence, seems to work quasi-

(Footnote continued page 53)

In other places learning was cultivated by the rich, who employed individual teachers for the instruction of their children. Zemindars generally educated their daughters to prevent them becoming "a prey to the interested and the unprincipled".[1] But above all the ethics and the culture of the scriptures were passed on orally. After all if the mind is steeped in the truths of Ramayana and Mahabharata it can hardly be said that it is less cultivated than that of the reader of the Strand Magazine! Spear justly sums it up in these words: "The West loves a sign, and when it finds no large buildings labelled 'The Smith College' or 'The Jones High School' it is apt to assume that there is no such thing as education in the land. Herein lies one of the most fruitful sources of misunderstanding of things Indian. The

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(Footnote continued from page 52)
automatically, as soon as a second patriarchal invasion enters an originally matriarchal culture-area, which had already once been conquered by a first patriarchal wave. Thus the Moslem Conquest of India added to the comparatively bad position of Northern Brahmin ladies, the originally un-Islamic seclusion of women, which was exaggerated and deformed in the notorious Pardah system unknown to the non-Indian Moslem world. Similarly the English conception of 'decency' in women's dress not only abolished the matriarchal women's dress of the Nayars, but forced upon them an amount of conventional clothing, which transgresses even the limits of British fashion. Thus the women, who proudly left their breasts uncovered (a custom which has probably much contributed to the health of the Nayar population in the tropical climate of India, as also to the well-known self-confidence, frankness and activity of the Nayar women) are now forced to veil themselves in the tropical climate more than do the European women in their relatively cool homes."

1. W. Adam: State of Education in the Bengal Presidency.

The Western genius in material things may be described as constructive ingenuity which leads to ceaseless elaboration and creates new wants by supplying them. The Indian genius in material things, on the other hand, consists in a constructive simplicity, which supplies the main wants of man in a way at once so simple and effective that its existence is not even realised by those who are looking for the great and the mighty."[1]

However depressed the condition of Indian women may have been, the tradition of learned women survived unbroken.[2]

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1. P. Spear: Cambridge Historical Journal, Volume VI, No. 1, 1938, page 86.

2. E.C. Gedge: Women in Modern India p. 1-4

"It is a common belief in the West that women in India occupied a very inferior position until the advent of the British and the introduction of English education in India. There are several critics in the West who are still misleading a good portion of the world and impressing upon it the degradation of the women that prevailed in India for centuries. The converts to this belief curiously enough seem to fail in discerning the anachronism in this fallacious statement ... Even a cursory glance at the history of India from the Vedic times right down to the modern day reveals a very different state of affairs from what these original historians try to make out to the world.

"The history of women's movement in India has to be traced from its very source in order to get the right psychological background ..."

In the Vedic period women took part freely in the Social and political life and were essential to the performance of religious rituals. One of them, Viswavara, is said

(Footnote continued page 55)

(Footnote continued from page 54)

to have composed the hymn in the Fifth Chapter of Rig-veda. Another famous composer was Lopamudra, wife of Agostya. The hymn which is said to contain the nucleus of the later Vedanta Philosophy claims as its author Vak, Ambhri's daughter. They were also earnest students of Philosophy and took active part in such debates. Even coming down to the Puranic period one reads of their "dialectical dexterity". Maitreiyi, Gargi, Tara, are a few examples of this. "Such social disabilities as Purdah and Child-marriage were entirely unknown." All those who are held so reverentially as great ideals, Sita, Savitri and Draupodi were women who enjoyed great freedom and asserted their own individuality. They were by no means merely the shadows of their husbands. Sita and Savitri, though of royal descent, enjoyed great freedom. Thus while the former chose her husband for valour, the latter gave her love to a lowly Prince living in a forest. Draupodi took an active part in the administration of the Empire and even held charge of the treasury itself. Women like Kaikayi and Satyabhama distinguished themselves on the field of battle.

In the economic field their position was secure. "Their rights of inheritance and succession were fully recognised, whether they were widows or daughters."

"The advent of Buddhism gave a fresh impetus to women's education and general progress." A cousin of King Asoka went to Ceylon and there she founded a school of philosophy training women in several arts. Bharathi acted as the arbitrator in the famous debate between her husband Mandanamisra and Sankaracharya which was largely responsible for the revival of Hinduism. Lilavati, the daughter of Bhaskerachari, who although a widow was not consigned to a gloomy life, and became a great authority on mathematics and philosophy. Khana became even a great astronomer.

In the medaeval times there were women scholars such as Laxmi Devi who in the Fourteenth Century wrote a law book named Vividchandra. Raziya Begum inherited her father's throne and ruled with great ability. Even when India disintegrated and fell into a general chaos there were some women who raised their heads above it. The daughters of Auraugzeb, Lele-un-Nissa, Zeb-un-Nissa

(Footnote continued page 56)

"There is no country in the world," observes Bishop Whitehead, "where religion plays a more important part than it does in India"[1] and women were its chief custodians. Religious-life was very much alive and Indian men and women still remembered the time when in ancient days the latter occupied a position of honour and authority.[2] Those days when marriage between man and woman was a matter of free choice.[3] When women took part in philosophical discussions and even composed some of the Vedic hymns.[4] Sita, Savitri and Damyanti were still the ideals on which Indian women sought to model their lives. "Intellectually and psychologically women in India ... never lost her place of old. The attacks of external influences affected but her external position."[5]

(Footnote continued from page 55)
and Zinat-un-Nissa, of Auremgzeb were a poet and scholar. Ahilya Bai Holkar and Rani Laxmi Bai of Jhansi distinguished themselves as heroines in the arts of Peace and War respectively.

1. H. Whitehead: Indian Problems.

2. N. N. Mazumdar: A History of Education in Ancient India, page 12. E. B. Havell: A History of Aryan Rule in India, pages 231-2.

3. F. E. Keay: Ancient Indian Education, page 81.

4. Ibid, page 82.

5. E. C. Gedge: Women in Modern India, page 4. Calcutta Review, Volume XLVIII, 1869, page 46. Hanumant Singh Raghuvanshi: Indian Women (Biographies of famous Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Indian women in Hindi). Despite the low position of women in general Indian women of

(Footnote continued page 57)

Western education, coming to India under the aegis of two such forces as the evangelical revival and utilitarianism, quite naturally failed to appreciate the power of this educational past. Quite unwittingly they tried to impose an entirely alien system on a recalcitrant soil. Evangelicals and Utilitarians were both convinced, though for different reasons, that there was little to salvage from the Indian civilisation. Hence their belief in replacement rather than in rejuvenation, which set them at variance with Indian reformers.

Nor was there much unity of aim and purpose among the educationalists themselves. To the atheistic Utilitarians female education was just one facet of the general humanitarian and philanthropic movement working for "progress", and they had little sympathy with its religious aspect. To the missionaries it was merely a means to the end, which was conversion. Through the instruction of girls they sought to counteract powerful home-influences which they believed prevented men from seeking conversion in larger numbers. They were also trying to form a Christian Community in which new

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(Footnote continued from page 56)
outstanding ability, however few in number, had been born at all periods. This had a great symbolic value so that when the Rani of Jhansi commanded her troops against the British with great gallantry, the event caused no general surprise among men.

converts could find wives for themselves. They had little faith in education as such, and constantly emphasised the greater importance of change of heart than of intelligence and understanding.[1] In fact even among the missionaries there were two distinct schools of thoughts - the evangelists and the educationalists.[2] The latter did not deny the aim of education being conversion, yet they were constantly criticised by the former for devoting too much time to instruction and warned against the danger of making education an end in itself. The instruction imparted was therefore of the rudest kind.

It will also be clear why the denunciation of Hindu gods formed such an important part of their schemes of instruction. Here at least the Utilitarians and the missionaries both had common ground. This made their co-operation with the Government, which was pledged to religious neutrality, and with Indian radicals very difficult. Ram Mohun Roy at first welcomed the missionaries and sought their help in reconstructing Indian society, which in his opinion could not have sunk lower. But this alliance did not last long and he soon broke off and engaged in controversy with the Serampore

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1. Calcutta Christian Observer, January 1836, Volume V, pages 30-1.

2. A. Duff: Missionary Addresses, pages 9; 60-130; 343.

missionaries. Reform rather than replacement defined the limits of his radicalism. Much as he favoured English-education - and in this he was far ahead of his contemporaries both Indian and European - he could not countenance the denunciation of Indian Scriptures. In fact we can appreciate and sympathise with the petitioners to the Governor of Bombay in 1840 who declared, "To the great cry of late years, Educate the Natives, we have responded with heart and hand, little dreaming that under the cloak of education, the work of conversion was insidiously to be carried on ... But the discovery we have made that religious rather than temporal instruction is the object in view, has crushed all our expectations and we cannot but look with fear and distrust upon institutions which have hitherto commanded our respect and been the means of disseminating ... education ... 'Honour thy Father and Mother' is totally disregarded towards us by the missionaries; for in their misguided zeal for the conversion of the natives to their own faith, they hesitate not to present the religious tenets of the parent in ridicule and contempt before his child thus alienating the affections of our offspring and teaching them to despise and abandon their own natural protectors ... "[1]

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1. Calcutta Christian Advocate, February 1840, page 356.

The charge was undeniable, and this division between home and school could not but set up conflict in the child's mind. It was to a considerable extent this fear of conversion, denationalisation and elimination of filial devotion which accounted for the failure of female education to spread upwards. Wealthy and influential Indians evinced great interest in the Cause, for it was often a passport to the favourable notice of Government officials or an opportunity for the much-coveted association with Europeans, but they never dreamt of sending their own daughters to these schools.[1]

The Government, which occupied a half-way position between proselytising evangelicals and frankly anti-religious utilitarians, did little to improve matters. No doubt its sins were more of omission than of commission but the effect was almost the same. Its doctrine of religious neutrality was, in practice, interpreted in its negative sense as implying indifference or even aloofness. In a religious country like India it should have been taken to mean Religious Toleration, i.e. equal support of all religions "without violation of the paramount dictates of justice and humanity" (quoted from the preamble to Regulation XVII of 1829 abolishing Sati). This would have given it a position of leadership in concert

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1. Indian Female Evangelist, Volume I, page 172.

with Indian radicals instead of throwing cold water on the first spontaneous Indian efforts for promoting female education.[1] This negative interpretation further led the Government to encourage education which was "completely divorced from Indian Culture and tradition", a system which was rigidly mechanical and ignored the intimate relationship between the teacher and the taught that characterised indigenous instruction.[2] This had a far more withering effect on girls' education than on that of the boys, owing to the former's greater imagination and subjectivity. Further, as education did not lead to employment of women as in the case of boys, they had little encouragement to pass through the dull and dry educational mill.

These obstacles necessarily slowed down the progress of female education in India. The ideas and ideals of women in England and in India approximated much more in 1850 than since. In fact this date may be taken to mark the beginning of the process that was to revolutionise the position of Englishwomen in Society in the next hundred years. A comparison of the position of women in the two countries in the first half of the Nineteenth Century would

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1. See Chapter IV page 296

2. Ronald Shay: The Heart of Aryavarta, page 13.

reveal the full significance of this revolution in the Status of Englishwomen for the position of Indian women changed little in the corresponding period.

In 1850 marriage was by far the most important career open to middle-class women in both countries. Arranged marriages were the rule in England as in India. The artificial romances of Victorian novels served only to emphasise this fact. True in England there was no seclusion of women as in India, yet all the same intercourse between the sexes was restricted. In fact, if we are to believe all the stories of tight-lacing, fainting, drinking of chalk and vinegar by women to keep their complexions pale, it may be doubted whether their lot was very much better than that of Indian girls.[1] Parental authority was no less strong in England than in India and was rarely defied. The feminine ideal was to be a good daughter, a good wife and a good mother. The woman with a career still excited the incredulous scorn of Society, even in England. Not only was a

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1. Captain Williamson: East India Vade Mecum, Volume I, page 352. "It may be seen from the above, that the circle of a lady's (Indian) male acquaintance may be much more extensive than Europeans would in general suppose; for, taking advantage of the spirit of the regulations, and waving the more preposterous, half-a-dozen sisters might enjoy the society of a number of men, little less limited than falls to the lot of most ladies of the middle ranks in colder climates; and it must be remembered, that, what is said here generally applies to the middle ranks, including the lesser Ameers."

woman supposed to be incapable of more serious pursuits but in her own interests she had to regulate her intelligence and her conduct. They were expected only to be educated enough to take an intelligent part in the conversation. A deeper knowledge frightened away most prospective suitors and hence was to be discouraged. A Mary Woolstonecroft was to be admired, or, better still, avoided, but certainly not imitated.

The result was that the education of English women was not much advanced and was of a very superficial character. It was directed more towards the acquirement of accomplishments than the development of her personality. It did not "give precision to her ideas" nor contributed towards developing an "exact mind". One of the leading historians of the feminist movement affirms that this was equally true of women's education in 1867 as when the remarks were originally made by Hannah Moore at the end of the Eighteenth Century.[1]

The same was true of the education of European and Eurasian girls in India. Dancing occupied a very important position in their curriculum. Their attention was chiefly directed towards securing suitable husbands, rather than towards an improvement of their minds.[2] The education

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1. A. Zimmern: Renaissance of Girls' Education in England, page 12. See also Chapter VIII, pages 536-9

2. See Chapter II, page 87-91

of Indian girls was largely confined to the home, and consisted in religious instruction and a knowledge of keeping simple household accounts.

Therefore both in India and in England women exercised influence rather than power. This was generally asserted through a man - a father, husband, brother, or a friend.

However, despite the outward similarity in the position of women in the two countries, their actual situation was very different. In England women had arrived at the crossroads. A change in their position was imminent though as yet there were only faint signs of it on the surface. This can largely be ascribed to the Industrial Revolution, which had been in progress for almost a century. Its cumulative effects, hitherto latent, were now becoming apparent. Change was in the air. If even such a sacrosanct institution as the House of Commons could be reformed[1] there was no reason why the position of woman in Society should not be revised in view of the changed conditions. The introduction of labour-saving devices had given the middle-class woman more leisure, which she did not know how to use. The joint family system

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1. Reform Act of 1832. It abolished "the pocket and Rotten Boroughs" and enfranchised the 40s. copyholder. Its importance lies not so much in altering the character of the House of Commons (which indeed it did not) as in demonstrating that no institution was so sacrosanct as to be unchangeable.

was gradually weakening, and the need of middle-class women to find alternative means of support was both great and real. This was further enhanced by a surplus of women owing to a disparity of numbers between the sexes. The growing empire which drained away men from the Mother Country, and the raising of marriage age, owing to the desire to preserve a high standard of living, aggravated the situation and tended to throw women on their own resources.

Therefore one of the chief problems facing British Society in the second half of the Nineteenth Century was presented by these middle-class women. There was this immense potential energy which had hitherto found expression in motherhood and domestic duties that needed sublimation or canalisation. Some measure of it might be obtained from the important part played by these spinsters in the activities of the Temperance League, Blanket Clubs, Missionary and other voluntary Societies. It was a problem that concerned both men and women, but the former, instead of realising its gravity, continued to dwell in the past. Further they shut the door in the face of women who were now seeking fresh avenues for the employment of their talents. Since most professions required preliminary training, women first sought to improve the educational facilities available to them.

But male prejudice hampered and blocked the way at every turn; this only increased the violence of her attacks. Such energy could be diverted but not suppressed indefinitely. Gradually man's bastions fell one by one, though the fight was long and bitter and has hardly ended yet.[1] New girls' schools were founded and women entered the Universities in teeth of male opposition.[2] To give some idea of male prejudices the case of Miss Long who was made an Alderman in 1889 may be quoted. The legality of her election was challenged and she became a "test-case". The Court held that a woman was not a "person" within the meaning of the Act, and that, even if present at Council meetings, she might neither speak nor vote.[3] No wonder then that the British

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1. It was empty boasting when the East India Company proudly declared that its "Court of Proprietors affords a striking instance of a popular senate in which there is no distinction as to citizenship, profession, religion, or sex: in which the English peer and the French Negro, the capitalist and the sailor, the christian and the Infidel, the man and the woman, may all, equally, argue openly and vote secretly." (East India Magazine 1834, Volume VII, pages 274-5.) Nevertheless, the growth of commerce, companies, and capitalist enterprise were making for a greater equality between men and women in England. One of the chief causes of woman's inferior position was and still is her lack of economic independence. (See Virginia Woolf: A Room of One's Own and Three Guineas.)

2. See Chapter VII.

3. Janet Courtney: The Women of My Time, page 103.

Feminist Movement was tinged with sex-antagonism, and, in its desire to secure equality for women, failed to make provision for their special talents and aptitudes.

Conditions were also more favourable to the spread of instruction among the working-classes including women. Working-class women did not threaten the strong-hold of male supremacy and so roused little opposition. Industrial equipment and organisation was becoming more and more complex. It was felt that the efficiency of the workers would be increased if they were instructed. Further the industrial revolution had also brought its own special problems, such as the increase in juvenile delinquency in large towns and the decline in health and morality of women and children working in factories and mines.[1] Christian philanthropy and Utilitarian efficiency were both therefore prepared to promote their instruction.

Further, if existence of social discontent is essential for creative thought, which in its turn leads to social change, there was no dearth of it in contemporary England. The cause of Englishwomen was thus inextricably linked with the cause of the lower classes in the state. The development of a social-conscience which was responsible for most of the reforms in the workers' conditions, was accompanied by an

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1. E. Halévy: History of the English People in 1815(3) p.157-60

realisation
increasing/of the need to improve the position of women. The new movements which sought to improve the position of the under-dog were therefore sympathetic to the aspirations of women. Thus the British Women's Movement was linked with Benthamism,[1] Free-thought,[2] Owenism[3] and other similar movements. Their general panacea for the evils of the age was education with which they sought to work the change. They believed in converting women to their ideas equally with men, and hence applied the same means to them as well. Consequently whatever success these movements attained, they also furthered the cause of women which was a part of the larger whole.

But India was still primarily an agricultural country, a land of vast distances where communications were bad and movement for the mass of people difficult. It was as yet relatively untouched by railways and the printing-press, which quicken the life and thought of a community. In 1837 after twenty years of its existence, Samachar Darpan, one of

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1. J. Bentham: Works, Volume IX, Edited by J. Bowring, pages 107-9. J.S. Mill: Autobiography, pages 117-8; 173.

2. The Isis, 1832. M. Best: Thomas Paine, page 43.

3. Addresses at Great Charlotte Street Institute, 1833. R.D. Owen: Situations, page 15. Life of R. Owen, by Himself: Edited by Bell, 1920, page 123.

For a more detailed connection see R. Saywell: The Development of the Feminist Idea in England, 1789-1833.

the very few papers in the vernacular, had only four-hundred subscribers.[1] A vernacular press was almost non-existent. When it is remembered how important a part the printing-press played in the dissemination of new ideas in the West, its relative absence in India would account for many of the difficulties experienced by the pioneers of female education.[2] Nor was there a cheap uniform postal system throughout the country.[3] The rates were so high as to be beyond the reach of most Indians. Absence of a periodical literature and little hope of receiving a personal communication both tended to minimise the value of instruction and created the problem of keeping those literate who had acquired the three R's at school.

Because India had not been industrialised, no middle or working class, such as played so important a part in the transformation of British Society, had as yet emerged. The first impact of Western civilisation after the consolidation of British supremacy, gave an impetus to the movement for Social reform which culminated in the abolition of Sati

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1. Friend of India, January 4, 1838, page 1.

2. Such as the lack of suitable text-books necessary for carrying out a uniform plan of instruction. Their dearth was felt all the more in a country like India where frequent visits to and from father-in-laws interrupted a girl's studies and where the teachers were not so highly trained.

3. Penny-postage introduced in England in 1840.

(widow-burning) in 1829. The movement, however, soon weakened. Indian progressives, too weak alone, could not co-operate with evangelicals and utilitarians for reasons enumerated before. The excesses of Young Bengal[1] frightened the orthodox, who closed their ranks to oppose the new tendencies.[2] Female education became an isolated cause. It was not until the second half of the Nineteenth Century, with the rise of an English-educated Indian middle-class, that movements for Social reform were initiated by the Indians. Female education was an important plank in the programmes of these reformers. They, combined with an increasing interest shown by the Government in the matter and a weakening of the proselytizing element in missionary education, quickened the pace of female instruction. Nevertheless, as was to be expected, the progress was neither so great nor so spectacular as in England, for the factors which led to the revision of the position of English women in Society were not operative in India.

It is in the light of this background that the subsequent

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1. See Chapter IV.

2. Alexander's East India Magazine 1836, Volume XII, page 366. Dhurma Subha the organisation of orthodox formed to oppose the abolition of Sati recorded that "the proceedings entirely connected with religion or caste should not henceforward be published in the Chundrika which instead of seeking to effect good to the people, only creates party feelings that in the end will very likely break up the society ... "

chapters should be read. In this context the limited success of the efforts of the pioneers of female education, despite their courage, enthusiasm and perseverance in the face of personal losses[1] and persistent failures, becomes intelligible. It also explains the failure of Indians to appreciate the debt of gratitude which they owed to those early pioneers. It was not so much Western learning as the way it was introduced that Indians disliked. In a religious country like India, the evangelicals and utilitarians were both likely to be more ineffective than their Eighteenth Century predecessors, especially in the sphere of female education, which promised no direct economic returns. Emphasis on purity and conversion, rather than compassion, charity, and tolerance, made for a wider division and loss of sympathy between the races. This was accentuated by the improvements in communications with England and the arrival of English women in increasing numbers. Therefore just at the time when greatest efforts were being initiated to introduce Western education, its agents and its instruments, women in particular, were

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1. It is difficult not to be moved by the sufferings of the missionaries and their wives especially in the earlier period. They were prolific like most Victorians: but few of their children survived the climate of India. The stoic faith with which year after year they bore these losses comes out very clearly in their letters to their friends and relations in England.

withdrawing further from those in whom the change was to be wrought. Admittedly their task was almost hopeless from the start, for they sought to impose a foreign culture and ideas which were the product of the new industrial society on an agricultural society which had changed little for a thousand years. But they showed Indians the power of voluntary organisations formed to promote a definite object. Indians also acquired the technique of propaganda. As Indian opinion crystallised and became organised, it could react on the foreign forces and lead them to modify their attitude. This was the work of the second half of the Nineteenth Century when spurred on by the Indians, the Government began to take greater interest in female education and the missionaries increasingly realised the necessity of exercising "influence" indirectly through education. That began an era of more active mutual co-operation and revealed the need for working out a synthesis of cultures so diverse.

CHAPTER II

VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS FOR WOMEN AND GIRLS 1700-1854

Section A 1700-1799

Men and women of the eighteenth century neither believed in mass education nor thought they were in possession of some exclusive truth which ought to be propagated through the agency of female schools. If anything, they distrusted enthusiasm of any kind. The institutions that they established for the instruction of girls were designed to meet the needs of a particular situation and were necessarily few in number. Their basis was generally humanitarian and not proselytising.

Things changed when Weslyanism destroyed the carefree and tolerant world of Charles James Fox and Warren Hastings and sought to rouse men and women to the urgency of saving their souls from "the heavenly wrath". The Evangelicals, believing that they alone possessed the true faith thought it their duty to spread the gospel everywhere by all means at their command. Within a few years of their arrival in the country, they had translated books, introduced printing, established female schools and undertaken various other activities to bring India within the Christian fold. It is the purpose of this Chapter to describe these developments up to

the middle of the nineteenth century.[1]

The origins of female schools in India on western lines are not easy to discover. Presumably the Portuguese had established some in connection with the Roman Catholic Church but no definite information is available on the subject. They treated India more as a trading outpost and since their rule was limited both in time and space, they could not have done very much for the education of Indian girls. For these reasons we ascribe the beginning of female schools in India to Protestant missionary enterprise.

The first Protestant mission to India was sent to "Tranquebar and the adjoining territory.... attached to the Danish Crown" by King Frederick IV of Denmark in 1705. "Two young men, of promising talents and decided piety, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plutscho, were selected for the important embassage." An adequate pension and salary from the Royal Treasury were guaranteed to them for their maintenance. Later this was supplemented with the grant of money, paper, and books by the English Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The object of the Mission was stated to be the rescuing of "fellow creatures from a state of darkness and ignorance.... by those who have obtained grace to work out their own salvation."

The end was defined but not the means. Fired with "holy

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1. From the Tranquebar Mission to the arrival of the British Evangelicals (1700-93).

zeal" they "burned with desire" to deliver their message immediately on their arrival. But they were faced with the initial difficulty of finding a common medium of communication. There were two alternatives. Either to teach the Indians their own language, Danish, or to learn the Indian languages themselves. Thinking that it would be by adopting the latter alternative they could make their influence most widely felt, they set out to learn Tamil. Within a couple of years Ziegenbalg composed a Tamil grammar and also compiled a dictionary, comprising twenty thousand words and phrases - each word being written in the Malabaric character, the pronunciation being appended in Latin, and the signification in German.[1.]

The other main difficulty they experienced was the low tone of morality prevalent among the Indian Christians, which made "the heathen look upon the Christians as the very dregs of the world, the vilest and the most corrupted under the sun and the general bane of mankind."[2]

To carry out their dual purpose of converting the Indians and "Christianising the Christians", they found that direct preaching without any preliminary preparation was not very effective.[3] The Hindus had a very old and complete philosophy

1. A. Duff. Our Earliest Protestant Mission in India, p.310
2. Ibid, p.312.
3. Ibid, p.320

which had been embodied in various sacred books. To invalidate this body of learning, Ziegenbalg had first to master it himself. This led these missionaries to the study of Hindu theology and philosophy. Once they had acquired some knowledge of these sacred books they could invite the learned Hindus to "friendly conferences"; these were more successful than direct preaching.[1]

They discovered, however, that "truths delivered by word of mouth.... were easily forgotten, and thus proved ineffectual," and moreover that truths were liable to be perverted, thereby giving rise to new and corrupt traditions. This led them to undertake the translation of the Bible into the "Malabaric tongue." They prepared a series of Christian tracts and books embodying the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith. Within a few years they had compiled or translated thirty-two tracts in "Malabaric" and twenty-two in Portuguese.[2] But the transcription on palm-leaves and their multiplication by manuscript was a long, laborious and inconvenient process. They therefore sent for a printing-press; friends of Missions in England soon despatched one. The paper shortage they overcame by setting up their own "paper manufactory".[3]

Their experience while engaged in these labours showed

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1. A. Duff. Our Earliest Protestant Mission in India, p.333
2. Ibid, p.338
3. Ibid, p.339

them that it was easier to impress the truths of Christianity upon the minds of children, whose ideas had not yet been formed, than on the minds of adults, and it was in this way that the idea of bestowing Christian education on the young in India originated.

In attempting to realise this ideal they chose, after considerable thought on the subject, the form of a "Charity School" in which the children, "whether of heathens or of Christians", obtained "clothes, diet, and lodging gratis,.... entirely under Christian Control, and entirely separated from heathen influences." They wrote:

> "We must needs say, that the erecting of a Charity School would prove highly advantageous to our design. By this means, some might be made fit in time to lend a helping hand, if not to us, yet perhaps to those that might come after us, and prosecute the same business we are now engaged in."
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> "The greatest efforts must be bestowed on the education of the children. In these a solid foundation may sooner be laid, than those that are grown old in their heathenish fancies and superstitions. For this reason we soon, after our arrival here, began to set up a Charity School."

"We are resolved to maintain all the children of such parents as come over to Christianity, that hereby we may gain the full management of them betimes, and give them such an education as is like to produce some good effects in time."

"We are more than convinced that here (the Charity School) the beginning of a real conversion must be made among the heathen; the old Malabarians being generally so fond of their idolatrous way of worship, as maketh them unwilling to forsake it." ------ "But I must not forget," writes Ziegenbalg, "to tell you, that what taketh me most in this affair is, the education of children in India. They are of a good and promising temper, and being not yet prepossessed with so many headstrong prejudices against the Christian faith, they are the sooner wrought upon and mollified into a sense of the fear of God. To tell you the truth, we look upon our youth as a stock or nursery, from whence in time plentiful supplies may be drawn for enriching our Malabar Church with such members as will prove a glory and ornament to the Christian profession."

They soon gave concrete form to their ideas. "After some time they founded five Charity Schools; two Malabaric for boys, and one for girls; one Portuguese, and one Danish; containing in all about a hundred, boarded, lodged and taught

gratuitously; many of these being bought, according to the usages of the country, in times of famine. They chose rather to increase the number of Schools than of children in the Schools, that they might 'get the sooner a competent knowledge of the temper of the children, and train them up the better to Christian maturity'".[1]

The girls' school referred to in the above quotation was the first founded in India as a result of the Protestant missionary activity. How spontaneously these schools had arisen should now be clear from the passages quoted above. They were a part, perhaps the most important part, of the Missionary equipment for the conversion of Indians. The motives for undertaking educational activities are already evident even at this early date. Although for the next hundred years, owing to the apathetic state of the Church in England, the Missionaries were not very active, and in fact were even barred from entering British India, yet when they did appear on the scene at the beginning of the nineteenth century, they had been anticipated in almost all important respects by their predecessors at Tranquebar.

The Tranquebar Mission was able to maintain and even somewhat extend the sphere of its activities during the course of the century, whilst the Church of England and British Nonconformity remained apathetic and quiescent.[2]

1. A. Duff. Our Earliest Protestant Mission to India, p.340-41
2. See Chapter I, p.7.

Meanwhile the main impetus to female schools in India in the eighteenth century came not from evangelising sources but from the needs of the European population and their offspring.

The British first came to India as traders,and were therefore more concerned with exchanging goods than with instructing Indians. But as "the Factories" ceased to be mere trading outposts in which goods were stored on their way to the markets, and became settlements, within whose four walls Europeans developed from the loose conglomeration of individuals into a society, new social problems arose.

At first the higher officials were supposed to remain bachelors; only rarely did they bring wives from England. Little social opprobrium attached to their marrying in the country, but such marriages were not very frequent. The policy of importing Englishwomen did not prove a striking success at Bombay as those without a dowry found it difficult to find the right man and ended up by becoming a liability to the Company. Hence this policy was not given much encouragement at Calcutta and Madras.[1] In any case this class did not much affect the question of female schools in India at first, for its children, whether mixed or of pure European descent, were sent to Europe for their education.[2]

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1. C. A. Kincaid, British Social Life in India, p.37-8
2. Life of Mrs. Sherwood: An Autobiography, p.427: Lord Houghton: Life & Letters of John Keats (Everyman's Edition, p. 137)

But the poorer Europeans, especially the soldiers of the Company's Regiments, were in a different position. They formed a private army for the defence of these settlements, and their numbers grew steadily as the importance of the Factories increased. The voyage to England being long, hazardous and expensive, they had scarcely any chance of getting back before the end of their period of service. They were therefore allowed to marry or consort with Indian women,[1] and often they remained on in India after leaving the Company's service. This rank and file had been recruited from the lowest classes whose condition in "the age of gin" was unenviable in England. Since they married women of the lowest castes and classes in India it was not surprising that barrack-life was hardly suitable for the upbringing of children. Scenes of promiscuity and profligacy were not unusual, and drunken brawls were still commoner.[2] These conditions compelled the attention even of the most complacent traders. The occasional widow or the pensioner who kept a school to supplement his or her own resources[3] were no longer enough to meet the needs of the new situation. Some of the more enlightened and philanthropic of the European residents took the initiative, subscribed funds, and enlisted the support of the Chaplain who alone had the time to give closer attention to the matter of

1. Capt. Williamson, East India Vade Mecum Vol. I, p.457-8
2. J. Hough, History of Christianity in India, Vol.IV, p.390-2
3. Calcutta Review, Vol.XIII January-June 1850, p.443

education as he was the only person who was not supposed to engage in private trade. The pattern on which these "Charity Schools" were established was everywhere the same. The residents subscribed the money, the Chaplain undertook to secure supervision, and later the Directors and the East India Company stepped in to put them on a more secure basis. These were some of the earliest schools in which girls of all races in India received instruction. As they represent the state of contemporary society and the change it was going through, they may now be described in greater detail.

The earliest of these was the Bombay Charity School founded by the Reverend Richard Cobbe, a Chaplain of St.Thomas' Church in the Fort, in 1718, with the object of "educating poor (European) children in the Christian religion, according to the use of the Church of England." Under his auspices the "inhabitants of Bombay", "raised among themselves Rs.6000 and upwards, without stirring out of door, of which the Governor (Charles Boone) according to his usual generosity launched out Rs.2000, leaving a blank for the Honourable Company in hopes of their assistance." The success of the School was probably responsible for the Court of Directors recommending to the Bombay Government in 1752 "the setting up and establishing of Charity Schools wherein the children of soldiers, mariners and topasees, and others, might be educated, as well as

of the subordinates, as at Bombay." A subsequent order laid down that "bastards and children of slaves on one side, should be admitted, provided the other children would mix with them."[1] In 1807 the Directors took over the school and gave it an annual grant of Rs.3600. In 1815 this was handed over to "the Society for Promoting the education of the Poor within the Government of Bombay" with an increased grant. The Society received considerable benefactions from the National Society in England and began to extend its efforts to Indians and beyond the Island of Bombay.[2]

The example of Bombay was followed by Calcutta where a similar Charity School was founded in 1729. It also depended for its support on voluntary subscriptions but its funds were augmented by the money paid in restitution for the damage done to the Church during the Sack of Calcutta in 1756 by the Nawab Sirajuddaula[3]. It supported twenty children.

These Charity Schools and perhaps a few classes taken privately by individual women were the only provision for the education of girls. They were chiefly frequented by the children of Europeans or by those of mixed parentage, though there was a sprinkling of Indian girls too. For the time being they sufficed as the number of Europeans in India was small. But the growing power of the Company, especially in Bengal, also meant a rise in the number of European residents in India.

1. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol III, p.99.
2. Ibid, p.100
3. J. LONG: Handbook of Bengal Missions, p.441

There was a great influx of Europeans into India during the decade 1746-56. In the following years a steady increase in their numbers was maintained.

This brought, in what had been a small, homogeneous, European Society, a tendency towards specialisation.[1] Prolonged service on the battle-field in these early wars first developed a sort of esprit de corps among the officers of the army which marked them off as a distinct group in Society. The discipline and military training which they had to undergo turned them into professional soldiers. This change is apparent from 1750 onwards though it was neither sudden nor complete.

Similarly amateur surgeons of former times were replaced by better trained medical practitioners. More qualified lawyers from England appeared on the scene. "Thus branch after branch of professional men shot away from the parent commercial stem";[2] until the European society in India reproduced the characteristic features of the society in England. Education was the last of the branches to develop.

As the number of Europeans in India, especially of those in the Army, increased, the existing provision for the education of their progeny was found to be inadequate and haphazard. Thus if an officer left a wife and children without any means

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1. Professor Dodwell in the Calcutta Review 1919, p.225-6
2. Ibid, p.230

of support a subscription list was sent round the station and the money thus collected was sent to them. Clearly this method was not only unpleasant and uncertain, but also unfair, as the more generous officers always contributed handsomely while others held back. A more stable institution was required to meet the increasing needs of the growing population.[1] Hence in 1782 a group of officers submitted proposals for the formation of an organisation to be known as the Bengal Military Orphan Society. The Paymaster General was to deduct the subscription from the officers' pay and forward it monthly to the Society. With these funds at its disposal, the Society sought to send the boys to England for their education or else to secure for them suitable apprenticeships. It was enjoined "that female orphans on attaining the age of twelve, be apprenticed to creditable milliners, mantua-makers, stays-makers, or otherwise, as the Management or their Agents shall determine, and that after serving their time, they shall obtain from the Society the necessary help towards enabling them to set up in business. That, should they in the period of engaging in business be disposed to enter into the matrimonial state, they be further entitled to receive such marriage portion or dowry as the Management or their Agents in England (whose approbation of the connection shall be previously yielded),

1. In Madras the immediate cause of the establishment of the Female Orphan Asylum was the protection of the girls who had fallen into Hyder Ali's hands. Lady Campbell founded the institution in 1786 with a managing committee of twelve ladies

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shall think proper to grant; and that no girl after such period shall have any claim on the Institution for marriage portion or dowry but be considered as finally discharged from the foundation."[1.]

Captain Kirkpatrick who drew up these generous provisions also made no distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children of pure or mixed extraction. This stands in marked contrast to the Civil Service Fund established twenty years later wherein only legitimate children had any rights at all. The appeal of the Provisional Board of Management met with a generous response and on April 2, 1783 arrangements were made with a Mr. Cowan who was already running a boys' school to board and instruct the orphan boys. For the girls and infants a roomy house was taken in Radha Bazar. A Mr. and Mrs. Jervis agreed to instruct and 'diet' (clothing to be a separate account) at the rate of Rs. 35 for each child up to a maximum of thirty, and at Rs.30 a head if the number exceeded that figure.

A little later the Cawnpore Committee and the Government proposed to graft a Lower School[2] on the Institution for the

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Footnote continued: and it was hoped to establish one for boys too. (See H. Pearson, Life of Swartz, Vol.II, p.121-2.

1. For most of what follows, see: Captain Williamson, East India Vade Mecum, Vol.I, p.460-466. Calcutta Review, Vol.XLIV 1866-67, p.151-181 and Vol. XLV 1867, p.295

2. Lower not in the sense of a Junior School but for the lower classes - the children of soldiers.

benefit of the orphans of European soldiers. The Government promised to contribute three rupees for each child and to supply land and cost of the school-building to the extent of Rs.40,000. Even so the proposal was accepted only after some demur. Fifty-four girls and forty-two boys were placed under two sergeants and their wives.

In 1785 both the Upper and Lower schools were shifted to "Levett's House", Howrah, but were kept strictly apart, the children of the officers occupying the upper storey and those of the soldiers the ground floor. Five years later the numbers in Upper and Lower Schools had increased to 57 boys and 40 girls, and 179 boys and 116 girls respectively.

But the Schools were faced with serious difficulties. Their funds were in a chaotic state. The number of children had become too great and there was considerable overcrowding. The headmaster and the headmistress for the Upper School were recruited in England and an English clergyman acted as Superintendent. But the Lower School was entrusted to the care of two sergeants and their wives. The Sergeants were addicted to drink and their wives brought "barrack habits" into the precincts of the School.

From the beginning an unfortunate tone was given to the girls' school. The ideal put before the mistresses was not so much "to form the ideas of the children and improve their

minds" as to "render the girls agreeable and engaging in their deportment so that they might make eligible marriages in the Settlement." Vanity as the handmaid to matrimony was encouraged among the girls. But the inconvenient situation of the School accounted for the failure "in marrying off the girls more than ophthalmia, or that other disease not to be named to ears polite....." This seriously worried the promoters of the School and Major Kirkpatrick wrote more pointedly than politely "that the unmarried girls would become a burthen to the Funds, and the Orphan House an Hospital for old women as well as an asylum for infants." Another Manager also noted the depressing fact that several young ladies had already attained the ripe age of "thirteen years, and yet had received no proposals of marriage which the Managers could approve of."

Immediate steps were taken to remedy this state of affairs. Dancing was to form an important part of their education as though it were a major qualification for matrimony. A dancing-master was engaged at Rs.80 per mensem, to preside over this "School for wives", and balls were more frequently given to promote the desired end. Despite this additional expense and trouble, the number of young ladies continued to increase instead of diminishing. "Sickness and celibacy" forced the Managers to transfer the Upper School to Mr.

Barwell's house in Kidderpore.

This does not seem to have improved matters and in 1793 David Ochterlony, himself a 'Boston Boy' sought to break the vicious circle by proposing to send all the orphans of the Upper School to America for their education. But the Managers summarily rejected the proposal, saying "that such a plan was highly objectionable in its principle, and impracticable in execution."

We can do no better than quote the verdict of the writer in the Calcutta Review on these proceedings. "It is painful to trace in the voluminous records and elaborate minutes of the Society that old bias we have already deplored, the low standard of mind-moulding and marriage as the ulterior aim, the one object of life. It prompts every measure proposed by the Managers; it runs through all their deliberations; it is the burden of all their minutes..... In all the ulterior object was avowedly the same - to bring the wards before the public, and so to expedite their marrying."

Nor were the supposedly superior Schools very much better. These went under the name of "Private Seminaries for Young Ladies" run by women who wanted to make money and retire to England in comfort. As early as 1734 an attempt had been made to establish an Ursuline Convent at Madras for the instruction of girls but nothing seems to have come of it

owing mainly to the difficulties of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.[1] However, the influx of Europeans during the succeeding period rendered these seminaries profitable. In 1791 a woman established a private school at Madras on the model of Miss Pinkerton's famous seminary at Chiswick Mall.[2]

But for obvious reasons the majority of these sprang up in and around Calcutta.[3] The earliest was set up by a Mrs. Hodges in 1780. Captain Williamson gives a picturesque description of the work done by Mrs. Hodges. She "succeeded beyond the expectations of her most sanguine patrons; and, in the course of twenty years, realized a very handsome fortune, with great credit to herself; and, if marrying off at an early age be desirable, with great advantage to numerous young ladies; who, in succession, entrapped the hearts of sundry gay Lotharios, by whom her dancing-room was much frequented. It would be cruel, and unjust, in the extreme, to assert that young women brought up at such a seminary, were, in every respect, inferior: it must be admitted, that they may dance, play the piano, work at their needle, read, write and cast accounts, and perhaps speak French: all these may be done to admiration; but, alas! these are properly speaking

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1. Professor Dodwell in the Calcutta Review 1919, p.230.
2. Ibid, p.231.
3. There were similar private seminaries for boys too, and these were full of Indian boys of higher castes. There was considerable demand for learning English as this helped them - Indians, to get posts with the English merchants. Owing to lack of economic incentive the Private Seminaries for Ladies were

merely mechanical, and, though they may please for awhile, never can give that zest depending solely on the enlargement of the mind, and on some knowledge of the world. So true is this, that not one in fifty of the girls thus brought up can hold conversation in any way pleasing or interesting, and, which is worse, the other forty-nine are very apt to be childish, vain, imperious, crafty, vulgar, and - wanton! But they are, generally, well formed, pretty, active, gay, and insinuating; therefore we must not wonder at the matches we see take place, nor at the poverty they generally entail upon their husbands, by a certain prolific propensity which may be said to characterise the whole breed."[1]

These seminaries were very expensive. Despite the low prices, the high house-rent and the desire to get rich quick meant the fixing of fees at a high rate. On the average it cost £75 per annum to have a child "creditably schooled" at Calcutta, "whereas for half that sum, say for £40, a much better education could be given at excellent schools in various parts of Britain. If we suppose £150 to be expended in transmitting a child to Europe, and that the sum of £35 be annually saved after arrival here, the difference both principal and

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Footnote continued: confined to European and Eurasian girls. It was only later, with the rise of an English-educated Indian middle class that some of the latter sent their daughters to the schools for European and Eurasian girls. Even then their number was small.

1. Captain Williamson, East India Vade Mecum, Vol.II, p.216-7

interest, would be cleared off in about five years; while many important advantages would be gained, and a thousand very obnoxious habits avoided." Captain Williamson's judgment on these Seminaries was quite decisive and final. "In a moral point of view, the detention of a child, particularly a female, in India, is highly culpable, and when treated of as a matter of economy, will, in the end, be found equally objectionable."[1]

There seems to be a great deal of truth in these statements, especially as they are confirmed quite independantly and in equally strong terms: "Anything more lamentable, more hollow in its principle, more disastrous in its consequences, than the plan then adopted in the other schools of Calcutta, it is impossible to conceive."[2]

Admittedly the girls' Seminaries in England also concentrated on accomplishments but the defects were not so pronounced. Even in India the Free Schools and Orphan Asylums offered almost as good instruction,[3] and at cheaper rates.[4] But the private Seminaries flourished because Free Schools, owing to lack of funds, had to limit their numbers. Besides only very poor Europeans would have considered sending their

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1. Captain Williamson, East India Vade Mecum, Vol.II, p.216.
2. William Tennant, Indian Recreations, p.68-76: "Besides the two institutions (for children of officers and soldiers, i.e. upper and lower) already mentioned, there are seven or eight others for the education of boys; and nearly an equal number for girls." But "the want of employment for country-born children has already been severely felt; and is every day becoming more and more urgent from the increase of their

(Ctd.)

Footnotes continued:

number ..... If in the orphan schools, all the interest of the heads of the army and of the Managers, is unable to procure employment for the youth educated there, the difficulty is much greater in private seminaries, where this can only devolve upon individuals.....

"This difficulty is increased by the manner in which feminine education is conducted in Calcutta. From a partiality as unaccountable as it is ill-founded, the girls are splendidly educated in boarding schools, where they are taught to dance with ease, and to dress with some degree of elegance, but much more affectation. These accomplishments, superficial as they are, contain nearly the whole amount of their attainments at the boarding school."

Hence the only occupation left was marriage, but here too this preparation (or education) proved rather a handicap than an advantage for "On their public night when they dance and see company, none of the boys of their own rank, by birth and fortune, are admitted. These are the only persons, with whom nature seems to have intended they should unite and live happily; but the prejudices of Calcutta counteract her purpose, and exclude them from their society as beings of an inferior class. Young officers in the army, or civil servants of the company, are alone deemed fit companions; and from the contemptible ideas they in general entertain of the whole race of country-born women, they are the most dangerous companions with whom they can associate.

"But female vanity bids defiance to all these considerations; and many young men of rank, and high expectations have been unable to resist its artifices, aided by the stratagems of the mistress of the school. Marriages of this kind have not been unfrequent, but they are always unhappy..... Few females of colour in proportion to their number can be disposed of in this manner. To educate them therefore, expressly with such views, entirely precludes every hope of uniting them with their equals, or their own class. It never fails to produce a train of ideas and expectations in the female breast, of which the disappointment is misery; and their completion ruin.

"No person of reflection can enter the numerous boarding schools in Calcutta, without feeling the most melancholy forebodings regarding the fate of so many young persons. To behold so many of the rising generation innured within their walls with hardly any probability of

Footnotes continued from page 92:

making a safe or honourable retreat, is certainly distressing: Because it compels your imagination to anticipate the sad alternative before many of them, that of living in a state of want and disappointment, or of subsisting by means fatal to happiness and reputation."

3. Captain Williamson: East India Vade Mecum, Vol.II, p.214-5.

4. Average monthly expense per girl at the Calcutta Upper school was Rs. 26, 8 as. p.m. (See Calcutta Review, Vol.XLV 1867, p.181)

At the Calcutta Free School school-fees plus mid-day meal were fixed at Rs.6, including all meals Rs.10, board and lodging Rs.16 and inclusive of clothing Rs. 24 p.m. (See Calcutta Free School Society Pamphlet, British Museum 8365.b.32)

children to the latter. But many a married officer who could afford to send his daughter to a private Seminary preferred to send her to the Upper school, so that the number of such girls had to be fixed in order to keep places open for orphans.[1] The restricted number of places in other schools and the snob value of these private Seminaries brought pupils in increasing numbers to the proprietresses, who in some cases made small fortunes.[2]

These schools reflected the Society in which they were established, and if they concentrated on matrimony they derived their inspiration from the ideals that the Society held. They had arisen in answer to the needs of the growing European population. They expanded and adapted themselves as best they could to satisfy these demands. A closer analysis shows these schools to be still more in conformity with contemporary ideas.

They were of two types: Those for the girls of the poorer people, and those for the higher classes. Thus the division in the Bengal Military Orphan Society's Institution was not that of the sexes, but that of children of officers and those of soldiers. The former (both boys and girls) occupied the upper storey, the latter

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1. Calcutta Review, Vol.XLV, 1867, p.297.
2. See also Bombay Gazetteer, Vol.III, p.102.

the lower. But even so the distinctions were not very clearly marked, taking the schools as a whole. The Calcutta Free School, meant mainly for the poorer children, took certain fee-paying students who were given differential treatment.[1] Even married officers sent their daughters to the Upper school, meant mainly for orphans, rather than to the private Seminaries. There are traces of a class system, but it had not become as rigid as later in the nineteenth century. These schools are not so exclusive as the later foundations; no distinction of race and colour, of legitimacy and otherwise were made. Neither were they imbued with any strong religious character. They were Protestant in tone, but others were not barred. English was the medium of instruction. In Calcutta Free School speaking Bengali on the premises was strictly forbidden.[2]

Thus there were girl's schools in India, Day and Boarding, Free and Fee-paying, run by individuals or groups and Societies. But it must be confessed that these schools did not display the same activity as later when resuscitated by missionary enterprise in the last decade of the eighteenth century.

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1. Report of the Calcutta Free School Society 1817, p.8.
2. Ibid.

SECTION B

The Arrival of the British Evangelical Missionaries in 1799 to 1852

When the eighteenth century opened there was not a single Protestant Missionary in the entire world, with the exception of the small group of Moravian Brethren. The Evangelical Revival brought a new spirit to British Christianity. The Methodists were the first to organise a regular system of foreign missions in 1787. Five years later the Baptists followed their example. In 1793 the Evangelicals succeeded in securing the adoption by the Commons of resolutions affirming the obligation of Parliament to work for the religious welfare of British Possessions in India. The Vellore Mutiny[1] was a slight setback to their hopes, but in 1813 they succeeded in securing the establishment of a Bishopric in India, and the entrance of missionaries to the country, which had hitherto been forbidden.[2]

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1. Mutiny of Sepoys in 1807 who objected to interference with their religion.

2. E. Halévy: p. 69-70.

But before proceeding further it would be best to examine the motives behind the educational activities of missionaries in general. Before a missionary could be an effective preacher he had to learn the language of the people. Hence the first few months of his arrival in the country were chiefly occupied in acquiring a knowledge of the vernaculars; there was relatively little else to do for as yet there were no Indian congregations to take care of. This period could be utilised to make Indian contacts and to learn about the country and its people.[1] The best means of doing so was to employ an Indian teacher and open a school. This teacher would look after the school as well as teach the missionary the dialect of the country. The children at the school served as a useful means of approach to their parents.[2] Several of these schools could be established in a small area under Indian teachers, and the missionary could visit them periodically. The tours of these schools constituted "fine preaching circuits; and the school-houses ..... excellent preaching places".[3] Swartz frankly acknowledged that the schools "would facilitate

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1. Church of Scotland Records: Bombay volume: Letter to a Missionary, dated Edinburgh Nov. 28th, 1822. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society 1818-19 p.125.

2. Missionary Intelligence, Vol.XIII p.29. Letter from Messrs. Pearson and Mundy, dated Chinsurah December 20th, 1822.

3. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society 1818-19 p.181 Church of Scotland Records: Bombay Volume, Letter number 47 from Mr. Brown of Edinburgh to the missionaries in India.

the connection between the Europeans and the natives, and would open a door to the missionaries who visited them to converse freely with the principal people of the country."[1]

A few missionaries carried this idea a stage further. They argued that the full power of the printing-press could only be brought to bear upon the people after they had been made literate. Therefore it was expedient to attract the children of the higher classes even by offering to give them secular instruction. But teaching was a long and laborious process and while the young were being instructed it was not wise to neglect their older people. The missionaries, therefore, sought to kill two birds with one stone. By concentrating on teaching the children to write legibly and well, and by not dwelling too much on making them understand the meaning of what they wrote, more could be done. The children would take these books home where they would be read by their elders. On an average a child filled two books a month. It was reckoned that if a circle had a hundred schools and twenty children wrote in each school, there could be two thousand copies in circulation of whatever the

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1. Letter of Swartz to S.P.C.K. dated 1786. Quoted in H. Pearson's Life of Swartz, Vol.II, p.123.

Missionaries chose to dictate. In this way they would not only be instructing children but using them, "as a means of spreading just ideas on the most important subjects among those of more advanced in age."[1]

Protestantism with its insistence on the reading of Scriptures had always favoured popular instruction. The Missionaries set out to translate the Gospels into Indian languages. Meanwhile, their wives had some leisure owing to the cheap and plentiful supply of servants. So, many learnt the vernaculars themselves and instructed their servants and children in English for better mutual understanding. Where they were not actively engaged in promoting some beneficent schemes, time hung on their hands and they seem to have employed it in indulging in idle intrigue. The Directors of the Scottish Missionary Society must have had some of these instances in mind when they closed the Letter of Advice to their Missionaries in India with these words: "Lastly, before we close these instructions we hope our sisters in the Mission will excuse us though we address a few hints to them..... In some missions the females have proved the greatest blessings: in others they have been the greatest curse. There is a characteristic warmth of imagination and of feeling about the female mind which proves highly beneficial when

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1. Baptist Monthly Circular Letters 1817, p.32. Review of Baptist Mission by Carey, Marshman and Ward.

duly regulated: but which is not less injurious when improperly directed. By silently exerting themselves among their own sex whether European or natives, by assisting in the education of female children, by soothing the cares and anxieties of their partners in life: by interposing their kind offices in allaying differences when they unhappily arise among them; by exhibiting in their conduct the soft and gentle graces of Christianity in all their native beliefs - females may be eminently useful in promoting the Cause of the Redeemer among the Heathen."[1] Irritatingly patronising and full of masculine conceit as it is, it gives some idea of the position of women in England.

Another motive for the early missionaries to engage in female education in India was financial. On their arrival in the country, they found that their resources were very inadequate, especially in the Presidency towns, where the cost of living was necessarily high. They therefore sought to supplement their incomes by opening "Private Seminaries for Young Ladies" which were considerably in demand.

But above all the missionaries came to India to convert its people to Christianity. Owing to the prevailing custom of seclusion of women, they found that the audiences to whom

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1. Church of Scotland Records: Bombay Volume. Letter from Mr. Brown in the name of Directors to the missionaries in India dated Edinburgh, Nov. 28, 1822.
A. Duff: Our Earliest Protestant Mission to India, p.357: "An idle man in so busy a world is an anomaly; but an idle missionary must be an insufferable nuisance."
Mrs. Colin Mackenzie, Life in Zenana, Vol.III, p.191

they preached consisted almost exclusively of men only.[1] Their stay in the country further convinced them that in spite of the seemingly low position assigned to women, the latter exercised considerable influence on their men-folk and were no small obstacle to their conversion. Even when the men were converted, their wives often refused to follow them in the new faith. This created new social problems for the Churches.[2] But it was clear that if stable Christian communities were to be established in India, it was equally, if not more necessary to reach to the women as well. Here the Schools served as a useful auxiliary.[3] In these schools instruction would not only prepare girls for household duties but it was hoped that they would also become acquainted with the truths of the Gospel. European missionaries were looked upon as foreigners and strangers, the congenial atmosphere of the Schools would help to allay any fears and suspicions. Christian habits could also be inculcated, as for example by closing the schools on Sundays. The idea of Sabbath could thus be easily conveyed as owing to their "natural laziness" the children enjoyed a holiday.[4]

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1. Friend of India, Vol.II, Feb.1836, p.42
2. It went against the Christian idea of the sanctity of marriage to allow another ceremony while the first wife was alive. But what was a genuine convert to do whose wife persisted in refusing to live with him? Also, what was a missionary to advise when a man before his conversion had more than one wife? It was feared, and not without foundation, that if the converts were allowed to repudiate their marriage tie too summarily,

The curriculum of these schools reflected the aims and motives of missionary education. Recitation of the Catechism and instruction in Christian truth occupied a great deal of time. When Indian gods were not directly denounced, the study of Geography was to be especially stressed as it was hoped that a correct knowledge of the earth's surface and its rotation would destroy the children's faith in Hinduism by showing the absurdity of its fantastic mythology.[1a] The children were also taught embroidery, dress-making, lace-work, basket-making or some other practical trade not only because of their educational value but also because the proceeds from their sales helped to defray a part of the school expenses.

Thus the motives of missionaries in establishing female schools in India were mixed - humanitarian, financial or proselytising. Whichever of these motives was predominant determined the character of a particular school - day or boarding; fee-paying or free. Sometimes it happened that all these incentives were combined. Thus the Scottish Ladies'

Footnotes continued from previous page: this might not only cause unnecessary suffering to the women concerned but also harm the Christian churches by attracting to them undesirable persons who changed their religion to get rid of irksome wives. The churches gave no general ruling and the matter was left to the discretion of individual missionaries.

3. J. Mullens, Ten Years of Missionary Labour in India, p.152-3
4. Baptist Monthly Circular Letters 1817, p.35, Carey, Marshman and Ward.

1[a] Baptist Monthly Circular Letters 1817, p.35. Note:According to the Hindus the earth was supposed to rest on a huge serpent with a thousand faces (Sheshnag) and earthquakes were explained by the serpent changing its position.

Association, sanctioning the addition of half a dozen boarders to their day school at Madras, noted: "They have been led to adopt this course for many reasons, viz. to accommodate parents and others in the interior desirous to send their children to Madras for education: To afford Miss Millard companionship in a climate where the effects of solitude are generally injurious to health of both body and mind; to give her greater means of usefulness towards the young people who may thus be constantly resident with her; and to aid (by any balance that may be left) in defraying house-rent and other expenses of the establishment."[1] These motives will become clearer when, later on, we examine separately the foundation of some typical female schools.

As we have seen the missionaries were active in India even before the country was officially opened to them in 1813. The work begun by Ziegenbalg[2] had been continued and even extended by their successors.[3] The missions flourished though they did not attract much attention until the advent of the famous Swartz of Tanjore. He was a very versatile

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1. Scottish Ladies' Association (Free Church) Report 1845 p.13-14.
2. See page 79.
3. Taylor W: Memoirs, p.8, 31.
   J. Mullens: The Results of Missionary Labours in India 1856, p.12.

person who wielded considerable influence which was not confined to religious matters, and played quite an important part in the political affairs of the time.[1] He inaugurated a system of Provincial schools wherein Christian children were taught the elements of learning with a view to training some of them for the Ministry. Neither did girls' schools escape his attention.[2] References in his correspondence show that he was aware of the need for their education. Lady Campbell consulted him on the subject and received his co-operation.[3]

But by the end of the century these missions had declined. "German neology usurped the place of Bible truth." Caste presented an insuperable barrier to their work and their compromise with it weakened their influence. Few missionaries arrived to replace the retiring ones and by 1806 only six were left, and ten years later their number had been further reduced to three. They were, with one exception, entirely supported by English funds. The schools were closed and the missions languished until taken over by more active missionary agencies.[4]

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1. Correspondence of Rev. F. C. Swartz: Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
H. Pearson: Life of Swartz.
J. Page: Swartz of Tanjore.
2. J. Page: Swartz of Tanjore p. 133
W. Meston: Aspects of Indian Educational Policy, p.6.
3. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Records: Letter of Lady Campbell to Swartz, 1788.
4. J. Mullens: The Results of Missionary Labour in India, p.13.

While the earliest Protestant mission thus languished for want of support, missionary activity was soon to receive a fresh lease of life through developments in England. The Evangelicals having swept England, cast their eyes on the state of affairs abroad. From 1793 India began to feel the impact of the Evangelical Revival. Wilberforce succeeded in inserting a clause in the India Act of that year which recognised the Government's responsibility for the welfare of its Indian subjects. In 1799 the three Baptist missionaries, Carey, Marshman and Ward arrived in India. True to its pledge of religious neutrality, the Company's Government did not allow them to land on its soil. They were faced with the alternative of returning to England without having accomplished anything, when the Governor of the Dutch colony of Serampore offered to let them settle there. This was, however, not the end of their difficulties, for when they arrived they found that their means of support were inadequate. They were hard-pressed for money despite the communal arrangements for living that they made to effect the strictest economy. Their economic position did not become stable until Carey was appointed the Professor of Bengali and Sanskrit at the Fort William Government College.[1]

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1. Brief account of the Translation and Printing of the Scriptures by the Baptist Missionaries, 1815, p.1.

Mr. and Mrs. Marshman sought to augment the resources of the Mission by taking advantage of the prevailing demand for schools, particularly among the Eurasians. They opened two boarding schools for "young ladies" which soon became very popular and yielded the mission an income of three hundred rupees a month. Encouraged by this success Mrs. Marshman also opened a vernacular day school for the instruction of Indian girls, which survived until her death in 1842.[1]

The Baptist missionaries were not content with establishing two "Boarding Seminaries" and a vernacular day school for girls. The neglected state of Christian children early attracted their attention and they sought to do something for their instruction. Mr. King of Birmingham wrote to Mr. Ward about the successful opening of schools for poor children in that City.[2]

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1. S. P. Carey: William Carey, p.195
   J. Dennis: Christian Missions & Social Progress Vol. III p.10
   H. Huizinga: Missionary Education in India, p.10.
Memoirs of Mrs. H. Newell, p.161-64.
2. J. Statham: Indian Recollections, p.368
J. Hobey: Memoir of William Yates, p.106
   Note: These Birmingham schools were founded on the Lancastrian system. Its chief features were teaching by monitors under the charge of a master and the employment of honours and humiliations as encouragement or punishment. Religiously these Lancastrian schools were neutral schools, or more accurately, were neutral as between the different Christian sects. They provided cheap instruction at less than 5s. a year for each pupil. (See E. Halévy: A History of the English People Vol. III, p. 156-8)

Mr. Ward mentioned it to Mr. Leonard who proposed the foundation of similar schools in India. Dr. Marshman took up the idea, preached a sermon collecting two hundred and fifty rupees on the spot, and with this sum opened the Calcutta Benevolent Institution in 1809 for the instruction of the "youth of both sexes, the descendants of indigent Christians of all nations." Dr. Carey was appointed its Secretary and a year later a separate girls' department was added to it.[1]

This institution had several interesting features which deserve some attention. It was very cosmopolitan in character and included European, Armenian, Sumatrian, Mozambique, Chinese, African and Indian girls. It was undenominational and the girls under instruction included, in addition to Protestants, Hindus, Muslims, Jews and even Roman Catholics. No Catechism was taught and neither was attendance at the Protestant Chapel compulsory. Only the Ten Commandments were taught.[2]

The plan of instruction adopted was the Lancastrian system.[3] Joseph Lancaster himself recommended Mr. and Mrs. Penny who were sent out from England to take charge of the

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1. J. Hobey: Memoir of William Yates, p.106
Report of the House of Commons Committee 1831-2, Vol.IX, p.451.
2. Baptist Circular Letters, Febuary 1813, p.43-47.
3. Ibid, and Friend of India, Serampore, p.77 (British Museum p.981).

Institution. English and Bengali were both taught.[1] The school was a great success and within a couple of years over one hundred girls had been enrolled. It provided instruction cheaply to girls,[2] who otherwise "would ..... have been wandering about the lanes of the metropolis, in the most wretched and forlorn condition, a prey to ignorance and every vice." Its financial position, however, was not secure being largely dependent upon subscriptions and donations from private individuals, which were insufficient for its growing needs. In fact there was an annual deficit,[3] and the Institution was only placed on a firm foundation when in 1827

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1. Baptist Circular Letters, February, 1817, p.22-3.
2. Rs.8 for six months for each child.
3. Baptist Monthly Circular, Febuary, 1813, p.46.

Expenses	1812			Income			
	Rs.	As.	P.		Rs.	As.	P.
To balance from 1811	223	13	10	Subscriptions	1027	0	0
				Donations	435	8	0
Salaries of teachers for ten months up to 31st October.	2830	0	0	Received for tuition	214	0	0
School rent	1110	0	0	Balance due by the Institution	2778	2	1
Books, rates rewards	72	0	0				
Servants etc.	218	0	3				
	4454	10	1		4454	10	1

the Government extricated it from financial embarrassments with a donation of Rs 13,000 and made a grant of Rs. 200 p.m. towards the current expenditure.[1]

Apart from the financial difficulties the Institution had aroused some jealousy and opposition in the beginning. An individual attacked it in the press warning the public against "the injurious tendency of the Benevolent Institution" for undue interference with the parochial children. An application was made to the Government but it refused to interfere.[2]

The opposition was not very significant but is noted here because it provided one of the rare instances where sectional jealousy was manifested among the missionaries in India, especially in the sphere of female education.[3] Considering the contemporary conditions in England, the Christian Sects in India were singularly free from rivalry and though the Cooperation achieved was not always so wide as to include even the Roman Catholics, as in this case, the Protestants on the whole worked harmoniously together. They met annually

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1. Friend of India, Serampore, p.77

2. J. Statham, Indian Recollections, p.370

3. Another instance of this is contained in Mr. Morton's Letter dated Cossipore, January 14, 1828 complaining that his wife could not carry on a girls' school as the Annabaptists had opened a similar school in the neighbourhood and had drawn away her pupils. (Records of the Society for the Propagation of Gospel, Box No. D10. Calcutta 1816-59)

to exchange information and to discuss the ways and means of furthering their work, though the Unitarians were excluded from these missionary conferences.[1] Their co-operation did not extend much beyond this exchange of information but even so was remarkable considering the feelings of similar bodies in England.

The Baptists were followed by a few other missionaries who because of the ban on their entrance to the country, were obliged to settle outside the Company's dominions. When the ban was removed, in 1813, missionaries began to stream into India. No definite schemes for their settlement had been worked out before their departure from England; they were left largely to their own resources, the sponsoring bodies at home offering limited financial aid and considerable advice which had little relevance to Indian conditions, of which they were ignorant. The scarcity of Christian congregations left them considerable leisure and, in any case, preaching was not found to be very effective. They had therefore to devise new ways of promoting the cause for which they were sent.

The main difficulty was to gain access to Indians, especially to Indian women and girls. They discovered that the

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1. Reverend G. Gogerley, Pioneer Missionaries, p.282
Calcutta Christian Observer, Vol.IV,Dec.1835, p.623.
Bengal Missionary Conference 1855, p.117. Rev. C. Dale of the American Unitarian Mission, Calcutta was not allowed to attend. Another feature of these Conferences was the absence of women missionaries. They were not invited.

efforts of the wives of some of the more pious officers in the Company's army had met with some success. A few of these ladies had successfully instructed the children of soldiers and those of their servants in Compound Schools - compound meaning the grounds in which their own houses or bungalows were situated. The name originated in this way. Most of the Europeans had a bevy of Indian servants, who, with their large families, lived in the "outhouses" on the outskirts of the compounds, so that there was usually a sufficient number of children at hand to be instructed by the mistress of the house, should she so desire.[1] The children were taught the alphabet, and some religious instruction was also given, especially on Sundays. Further, if one of the servants died suddenly, leaving children uncared for, or if an orphan child were brought before the lady and an appeal made to her charity, she might take compassion and entrust the child to the care of one of her servant's families, under her own special protection, paying for its upkeep. In this way individual ladies often had a few orphans being cared for under

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1. The position in England was somewhat similar where unmarried daughters of country squires sometimes instructed their servants.
See White: Farewell Victoria
Sophia Kelly: Life of Mrs. Sherwood
Friend of India: Transactions of the Baptist Missionary Society, p.86.
Priscilla Chapman: Hindu Female Education, p.75, 115-16.

their servant's roofs. Herein lay the germs of the later boarding schools.

The missionaries took over both these ideas, developed them further and applied them extensively, so much so that practically every mission-station in the country came to have a day and a boarding school for boys attached to it. Their wives usually ran two corresponding schools for girls.[1]

The day schools for boys became very popular and were even frequented by boys of higher castes, who often paid fees. The demand for English education was great because it offered valuable economic returns. However, since caste presented an effective barrier against Indians joining them, the boarding schools remained confined to orphans, Christians or the children of Indo-Portuguese. In the case of girls there was little demand even for day-schools, for female education, unlike that for boys, offered no economic incentive, and caste rendered boarding schools inaccessible to Indian girls. Therefore when the missionaries first opened these girls' schools their motives were very much distrusted. Fantastic rumours circulated that they were collecting girls

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1. The Rev. W. Knight: India's Plea for Men, p.47

"to export" them or that the Doctor was going to bleed them.[1] Indeed so great was the prejudice against sending girls to these schools, that only those of the poorer classes could be attracted to them by the offer of economic inducements.

This did not deter the missionaries. They argued that once the poorer women had been instructed, the higher castes would themselves see the advantages accruing from education and would resort to these schools. Education would thus automatically spread from below. These hopes were no more realised than those entertained in the case of boys, wherein mass education was to follow upon the instruction of the higher classes. Boys' education failed to filter downwards; girls' education failed to spread upwards.

These results flowed from very different causes. Educated men sought good positions for themselves but did

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1. Report for Burdwan , 1832: Ladies' Society of the C.M.S. Quoted in J. Long: A Handbook of Bengal Missions, p.421. "At first as was natural, the parents were fearful, and one or two hinted their natural apprehension that we had some sinister motive in collecting little girls together each day. Some feared our object was to export their daughters; and others begged that the Doctor Sahib would not bleed their children! so little confidence had they that we were really disinterested." Church Missionary Society Report, 1822, p.108; L.M.S. Records: North India: Bengal Box 1, Folder 4, Jacket B, Letter from Rev. J. Keith, dated Calcutta, January 11th, 1822, saying that the parents thought that the girls were to be shipped to England to act as concubines to the British.

little for the mass of people, who were too poor to afford or appreciate the advantages of literacy; only special efforts to instruct them could have succeeded. As it was, a large proportion of the available funds was appropriated by the middle classes for the higher education of their own children,[1] and the poorer boys were left with little provision for their instruction. In the case of girls', education offered no such economic returns and pride of caste was therefore sufficiently strong to outweigh the doubtful advantages of being instructed in one of these schools. How could higher castes and classes send their daughters to schools whose aims were to convert them to Christianity or to teach them the humbler virtues of servant-girls.[2] In fact female education, far from becoming fashionable, acquired a certain stigma and confirmed the prejudices of some Indians that only dancing girls and women of lower castes needed to be instructed.[3]

This was not all. It was harmful and even dangerous to educate a class of girls whose men-folk were generally the most ignorant in the land.[4]

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1. See Chapter I, p. 22. In England "Mechanics Institutes" became "Play Centres for serious Clerks."
2. Church Missionary Register, February, 1830, p.110.
3. Christian Intelligencer, July, 1834, Vol.IV, p.344. Bengal Protestant Missionary Conference, 1855, p.148-9.
4. W. Meston: Aspects of Indian Educational Policy, p.18 Quotes the views of M. Elphinstone.

The missionaries were faced with a cruel dilemma which is best described in their own words: "Although these children attend regularly and long enough to be able to read etc. etc., yet they would have no influence upon society. As already stated they are (especially in Calcutta) the children of the lowest classes such as Mahters and Monches (sweepers and cobblers). I doubt the propriety of educating the females of this class of people while their mates are uneducated, for be it remembered that the fathers, brothers, and other relatives of these girls are almost the only class of natives who are entirely uneducated. Lads from all other classes attend our schools. Thus if the only educated females in Bengal were to be found among that class whose males are above all others the most ignorant, would not this be a strange anomaly. The natives will not marry except among their own cla ss, no one will marry a woman of inferior caste. Where then are these girls to get husbands, for however well educated they may be, no Hindu of another class will condescend to marry them. This is a very deep-rooted prejudice, so much so that it prevails even among our native Christians, and cannot be overcome till our present generation shall have passed away. But their own class are the lowest and most ignorant of the people, and since the women are obliged to associate with them it is not improbable that they despise their husbands and

brothers etc. The train of evil that may naturally result from this state of things is sufficiently apparent."[1]

Another wrote in somewhat similar terms: "If in endeavouring to elevate the young female of inferior order in her condition and improve her habits, we raise her too much at once, or in an injudicious manner, we unfit her for her future station, and render her a useless and discontented encumbrance of a native dwelling. If, on the other hand, fearing this result, we make no attempt to raise her social condition, or improve her moral and other habits, but having taught her a little reading, sewing and scripture, turn her out again to forget them; we do something, to be sure; but as little as is well possible to do at the same expense of time, labour and money."[2]

Nevertheless the missionary girls' schools flourished. The inducements offered, especially the money-payments, brought an increasing number of poorer girls to these schools and they were moved from mission premises to more central places in the towns. This made the attendance of girls at schools easier, as they were loth to go far from their homes.

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1. London Missionary Society Records: North India, Bengal, Box 5, Folder 3, Jacket B, Letter from Rev. J. Campbell, dated Calcutta, September 27th, 1838.

2. J. Long: Handbook of Bengal Missions, p.437.

At the same time these Bazar Day Schools, as they were now called, served to give greater publicity to the work of the missions. Meanwhile, both the gradual growth of Christian communities and natural calamities, such as famines and floods, which left many children without parents, swelled the numbers in the boarding schools. Missionary premises were no longer sufficient to meet the new needs and separate buildings were constructed to house the children.

The earliest of the Bazar Day Schools for girls in Bengal were the two opened by Mr. May of Chinsurah in 1818.[1] These were not very successful and not long after were discontinued. But the idea spread and similar schools were established in most of the more important towns. Adam gives a vivid description of one of these vernacular Day or Bazar Schools:[2]

"The other institution ..... to be noticed is a girls' school superintended by Mrs. Paterson, with the assistance of a native teacher who receives five rupees a month. The number of scholars is twenty-eight, of whom twenty-four were present and four absent at the time the school was visited. The scholars are all Hindus, seventeen of the Bagdhi Caste,

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1. W. Adam: State of Education in Bengal Presidency in 1835, p.44.

2. W. Adam: Report on the State of Education in Bengal, 1838. Edited By A. N. Basu, p.300.

six of the Malo, three of the Kaivarta, and two of the Vaishnava Caste. The teacher is an Agradani or low Caste Brahman. The average age of the girls entering school was 7.2 years; their average age when the school was visited was nine years, and the average probable age of their leaving school was 12.6 years. Twenty-four of the girls receive each one pice per week for attendance, and four receive two pice. Each girl every four months receives a piece of cloth for a garment to secure her decent appearance at school; the cloth is valued at ten annas. Two female messengers are employed to conduct the scholars to and from school, one having charge of thirteen and the other of fifteen scholars; and each messenger receives one anna per week for each child who attends regularly every day of the week. Each girl receives an armlet every year; and on the occasion of her own marriage or the funeral obsequies of a parent, a payment of one rupee."

It is clear that the girls belonged to the poorest classes. This great difference between the progress of education among boys and girls in India should be borne in mind. The economic advantages attendant upon an English education brought high caste boys to schools despite their proselytizing character without payment being made for their attendance; the education of girls had to begin with that of the lower

castes and they had to be paid and offered other inducements to be attracted to schools meant for them.

This involved unproductive expenditure, as the matrons were paid only to secure attendance at school, not attention to study. The reports of the missionaries were full of complaints on account of irregular attendance,[1] slow progress, and withdrawal from school after marriage, etc. It is true that some opposition was offered to Indian prejudices, for the girls had to leave their homes to attend school, all the same it did not give the teachers as firm a hold on their minds as in a boarding institution. But the great advantage was that the domestic tie remained unbroken and this was of considerable importance where the parents were alive. Hindu and Muslim girls, even if poor and of low caste, unless they were orphans, could not have been attracted to a boarding school. This was the only way to reach non-Christian girls. But the teacher and the taught were often working at cross purposes, the former thinking of introducing Christian instruction as soon as possible without arousing the fear of the pupils, who in their turn wanted to continue receiving money payments for attending school without imbibing religious instruction if they could help it.[2]

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1. Scottish Ladies' Association Report 1845, p.11.
2. Friend of India: Periodical Accounts of the Serampore Mission, p.207.

The reasons for the limited success of these schools, however, did not lie in the Indian social conditions. The missionaries themselves were not quite sure of the place of female education in their scheme of things[1] and it took them some time before they could convince the Home Societies of the utility of this sphere of activity. Further, there was more enthusiasm than careful planning in the first outburst of evangelical activity. They arrived in India and set up what may be termed Single Missionary Stations in all sorts of places without surveying the suitability of the field in which they were to labour. Therefore if a missionary fell ill or went to England on leave the work had to be given up and his successor had to start from scratch again.[2] It applied much more so to his wife who was generally in charge of the female schools. She had not only to nurse him but was also too immersed in other domestic anxieties to pay

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1. Compare the attitudes of Duff and Wilson of Bombay. Duff left the women scrupulously alone hoping that female instruction would follow the spread of education among the males. Wilson, on the contrary, regarded education of women as an indispensable part of missionary work. (G. Smith: Life of Wilson p.265. A. Duff in Indian Female Evangelist, Vol.I, p.174-5.

2. Calcutta Christian Observer, Vol.VI, April, 1837, p.210. B. W. Noel: Christian Missions, p.329; 21st Report of the C.M.S., p.106: Ibid, 26th Report, p.53; Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, September, 1834, Vol.III, p.430.

undivided attention to girls' schools.[1] She was further handicapped by frequent pregnancies[2] and high infant mortality added to her sorrows. Sickness and disease among the school-children too took their toll. Attendance fell considerably during epidemics of cholera or smallpox.[3] Despite these handicaps the wives of the missionaries rendered very valuable services in their own unobtrusive way. They are generally not brought out in the earlier Reports of the Missionary Societies though there are occasional references to them in the letters of the missionaries. The Friend of India drew attention to the work of these women and paid a

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1. E. R. Pitman: Heroines of the Mission Field, p.3
An American missionary wrote; "A missionary and his wife together can do great things, but they cannot do everything. Try it at home. Lay out here such work as is done there. Let a man be pastor of the church, whether in village or city, and let the minister's wife, with home, her children, her uncounted cares, and her imperfect health, be the chief teacher in the day school of the neighbourhood. Let that school be kept on the minister's ground, and let his wife have the personal care of a great part of the pupils. Let the minister's house, too, be the apothecary's shop for the country round. Let the minister's wife help her husband in teaching on the Sabbath and let her travel with him sometimes in the travelling season, making, not pastoral calls, but visitations to churches far remote, or, if she cannot go with him, let her have the charge of affairs while he is away. Try such an experiment, call a minister, with the understanding that such work shall devolve on his wife. Conceive if you can that such an arrangement is fairly entered into, and common humanity will quickly ask whether someone else should not be provided to do part of the work. The experiment is being tried again and again in Asia; and that same question is the one that is before us now. The missionaries' wives do as much of the work as they can, but they do it often at the expense of health, if not of life."

(Footnotes 2 & 3 on following page.)

just tribute to them.[1a] But their labours could have been much more fruitful had local conditions been carefully surveyed before embarking upon new schools: they were given up too easily either because they were not successful or because supervision was no longer available. Persistence and concentration were even more necessary than an artificial increase in the number of girls under instruction.[2a]

Footnotes 2 and 3 continued from previous page:

2. Mrs. Marsham for example had twelve children of whom six were dead. See letter of Mrs. H. Newell to a female friend dated July, 1812. Quoted in Memoirs of Mrs. Newell p. 164.

Kathleen Hewitt: The only Paradise: An Autobiography p.5-6.

3. P. Chapman: Hindu Female Education, p. 106.
American Marathi Mission Memorial Papers, 1813-1881, p.61-66.

1[a]. Friend of India Vol.II. Feb. 1836, p.42. "This table however gives a very inadequate view of the labour bestowed on the missionary field. It is limited to the labours of one sex. But in estimating the extent of Protestant missions in India, we must not overlook the invaluable services of the fairer sex; because they are performed without noise or obtrusion. In this point of view almost all missionaries of the reformed churches may count for two."

2[a]. Calcutta Christian Advocate of 21st November, 1840 (p.230) put the matter forcibly in these words: "Scheming and experimentising seem to be the order of the day in everything, and education has not failed to be smitten by the mania. We are not opposed to every laudable attempt to improve educational plans, but there is a fearful daring to which we are and must ever be opposed."
Calcutta Review, Vol.XVIII July. December, 1852, p.171.

Though the futility of dispersing their educational efforts had been pointed out as early as 1817,[1] the truth of this dawned on them only very gradually. They had arrived in India full of optimism which had only been sharpened by the ban on their entrance to the country. When it was lifted they felt that India would soon join the Christian fold. A closer acquaintance with the country revealed to them the tenacity with which the Indians hung on to their religions. Hopes of early and easy conversions were not realised. Except in the South the conversions were few and far between. Easy optimism gave place to louder declamation against Indian character. They consoled themselves with the conviction that the demoralisation had gone so far that the Indians would take time to perceive the light. Meanwhile educational work was the most promising field open to them. If they could not count on many converts they could show that Christian influence was steadily growing through the schools which showed an increasing number of scholars year by year.[2] It is not suggested here that the number of girls under instruction was falsified; far from it - only that under the circumstances they tended to concentrate more on showing a statistical increase than on the quality and duration of instruction imparted. So long

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1. Calcutta School- Book Society Provisional Committee's Report 1817, Appendix 1, p.9.

2. See the Annual Reports of various Missionary Societies. J. M. Mitchell: In Western India, p.49.

as the numbers appeared larger on paper the Home Societies would be satisfied that something was being done for the future conversion of India and that the trend was hopeful. This impression was further reinforced by an emphasis on non-essentials in Reports submitted about their work on the spot.[1]

This might appear rather an uncharitable appreciation of missionary labours and another explanation may also be offered for the useless dispersal, by the missionaries, of their limited resources, an explanation which goes deeper into the nature of the evangelical educational activity as a whole. Primarily concerned with "saving souls" rather than in raising the standard of intellectual attainments of men and women, instruction to the missionaries was only a secondary object, merely a means to an end, which was conversion. As all souls

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1. M. Wylie: Bengal as a Field of Missions, p.211
"The first step in a decisive change, appears to me an entire alteration in the tone and the tenor of the Reports about the work in this land. The repetition, continually, of details about a few stations, while the clamant wants of the outlying country are passed over, and are never described at all, has the tendency to magnify the importance of work, which ought to be treated merely as the very first commencement of the Christians' duty. The impression conveyed by such Reports is, that there are prosperous, satisfactory missions in this great country, and a feeling of complacency is excited, by a degree of labour which is so disproportioned with real wants of the land, as to be almost insignificant."

were of equal value it was better not to waste too much effort on those who were reluctant and evinced little signs of softening even when given true knowledge. Better to explore fresh pastures and reach those who might respond more readily. Some denied the utility of educational work altogether. They relied on change of heart and quoted Wesley and Luther who accomplished revival without recourse to education.[1]

Another factor implicit in the nature of evangelical Christianity was the intensely individualistic nature of its Protestantism: this expressed itself in the lack of effective co-operation among the agents of the various denominations in India. Sects multiplied each pursuing a separate interest, resulting in the foundation of various isolated schools more or less inefficient, instead of a well co-ordinated series of institutions mutually dependent upon each other.[2] A further corollary of this was that little was done in the educational sphere though much was attempted in a "catechizing way". While the girls hardly knew the rudiments of grammar, they had mastered considerable portions of the Catechisms and Gospels by heart. Under this system

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1. Calcutta Christian Observer, January 1836, Vol.V, p.30-1
J. E. Clough: Social Christianity in India, p.116-117.
2. Rev. K. M. Bannergee: Essay on Native Female Education, p.138.

the advantages of literary education were diminished, "the pupils un-learning in as many months, what they had got up in as many years."[1] It was only with the subsidence of the tide of evangelical fervour in the second half of the nineteenth century that missionaries began to concentrate on education as such, thereby exercising more indirect, though no less important, influence on their pupils.

In the succeeding period (1825-54), profiting by their experiences, the missionaries did attempt to remedy some of these defects. Despite the opposition of the more conservative, single women from England arrived in increasing numbers with the object of helping the wives of missionaries in teaching. New methods for closer supervision of Indian teachers were devised, the aims of different types of schools were more clearly differentiated. Systematic and efficient organisations were created to secure a certain continuity and permanence of the work.[2]

These factors emerge very clearly when the work of Miss Cook (later Mrs. Wilson), the first unmarried woman missionary to arrive in India is closely examined. From modest beginnings in 1821 within a couple of years the number of schools

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1. Rev. K. M. Bannergee: Essay on Native Female Education, p.105.
2. See next Chapter.

had increased to twenty-two and the girls attending them to four hundred.[1] She had adopted the monitorial system of teaching, each school being in charge of a girl-student or a master over whom she exercised the closest supervision. The Annual Examinations proved to all that the girls had made noticeable progress in reading and writing, geography, and needlework.[2]

Even so Mrs. Wilson found that her teachers were "inattentive to their work" and unreliable. With the growing number of schools and children she found it increasingly difficult to supervise them effectively. She, therefore, sent for helpers from England, and planned to rear Christian girls, who, on growing up, would become teachers in these schools. But they were not forthcoming in any numbers so she took the few orphans that she could find under her own roof.[3]

At the same time she realised that she could give greater attention to the Day Schools if they were assembled in one place, thus saving considerable time and labour in repeating lessons and travelling about the town.[4] This plan

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1. The Church Missionary Society Report, 1823, p.116.
2. P. Chapman: Hindu Female Education, 1839, p.91.
3. Ibid, p.118.
4. The Church Missionary Society Report, 1823, p.210.

was adopted in 1824. Later she decided that it would be better to have a suitable building for the school with provision for her and her orphans to live on the premises. This was accomplished in 1826 with the help of a liberal donation from Raja Boidnath Roy Bahadur and the co-operation of the Governor-General and other European residents.[1]

She moved into the building in 1828 with her orphans whose number had now increased to fifty-eight. The nineteen small schools were drawn up into three large divisions in which the number of children was two-hundred and fifty. The class of teachers or monitors consisted of twenty-five Indian women. They were young but either widows or destitute and had been educated in her schools.

In 1829 Mrs. Wilson gave charge of the Central School to Miss Ward who had come from England to assist her and toured the Upper Provinces to improve her health and extend her activities. Henceforth she concentrated more on working among Indian orphans. As a result of the floods and famines of 1832 and 1833 considerable numbers of children lost their parents and Mrs. Wilson had little difficulty in collecting some for her Asylum.[2] By April, 1836 the number of orphan girls had grown to a hundred and it was desirable that this

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1. P. Chapman: Hindu Female Education 1839, p.87
2. Calcutta Review, Vol.XXV, September, 1855, p.81.

institution should be separated from the Central School. It was essential that the two institutions should be nearby so that she could supervise both, but it was also very desirable that the orphan children should come into contact with non-Christians as little as possible for their religious education to be more effective. A suitable site was chosen, the building was completed "well enclosed with substantial brick walls", and in October, 1836, Mrs. Wilson moved in the Agarparah Orphan Refuge with her ninety-six girls.[1]

The girls were boarded and clothed there. They were under constant supervision and were never left alone.[2] The mornings were usually devoted to instruction. After worship they were divided into classes according to their attainments where they read the scriptures in English and Bengali or engaged in learning the rudiments of both languages.[3] The afternoons were devoted mainly to "useful work". They were taught knitting, embroidery, basket-making, worsted work, making leather balls, men's clothes or plain needle-work according to their inclinations, by different teachers.[4]

The results were quite encouraging and education did

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1. Church Missionary Register, October, 1839, p.474-78. Friend of India, July 27th, 1837, p.234-35.
2. P. Chapman: Hindu Female Education, 1839, p.135
3. Ibid, p.134.
4. Ibid, p.134-5.

not unfit them for settling among the poor of their villages. An Indian Christian with satisfactory certificates from his pastor or employer would not be turned away empty-handed should he seek one of these girls in marriage. Poverty was no bar but evidence of ability to maintain a wife had to be produced. There was no interdenominational rivalry, and it was not obligatory for both partners to belong to the same sect.[1] Within three years twenty-eight orphans had been married.

These girls' boarding schools were of great value in founding stable Christian communities[2] and in rescuing orphans from almost certain death. As a result of the widespread failure of crops in the Upper Provinces in the thirties such institutions were successfully started in towns like Benares[3], Burdwan , Cawnpore, Futtehpore, Goruckpore, Allahabad, Agra, Mirzapore, and Seedpore.[4] Henceforward Boarding school work formed an important part of missionary activities.

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1. P. Chapman: Hindu Female Education, 1839, p.126.
2. Calcutta Christian Observer, Vol.IV, Jan., 1835, p.49.
3. Bengal Protestant Missionary Conference, 1855, p.177. The Rev. C. B. Leupolt on orphan Institutions Benares , "our institution was established in 1836, but the greatest influx of children took place in 1838, when it pleased the Lord to visit India with famine....."
4. P. Chapman: Hindu Female Education, 1839, p.146-161.
   Journals of Rev. W. Lacey, p.70.
   Church Missionary Intelligencer, May 1849 Vol.I, No.1 p.205.
   Mrs. Colin Mackenzie: Life in a Zenana, p.128.

Wherever there was a mission station in Bengal, there were generally girls' Day and Boarding Schools.[1]

The Serampore missionaries were not slow in taking notice of the success of Mrs. Wilson's Central School system and soon introduced it in their own schools. They had several girls' Day schools under Indian masters and mistresses and supervised by a European woman. Most of these schools were separately adopted by a town in England, the collections from which paid for their current expenses. The school in turn took the name of the town which supported it. The average attendance at each of these schools was about fifteen.[2] But it was found impossible to supervise them adequately. Teachers were unreliable and were even suspected of falsifying

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1. Rev. W. Knight: India's Plea for Men, p.47.
2. Friend of India: Periodical Accounts of the Serampore Mission, p.342; 556.

YEAR	LIVERPOOL	CHATHAM	WILLIAMS	ROSS	CARDIFF	CHELTENHAM	GLASGOW	DUNFERMLINE	STIRLING	EDINBURGH	EXETER	CHRISTIAN WOMEN	TOTAL
LIST 23RD FEB. 1828	19	22	18	19	20	22	22	16	12	26	22	6	224
AVERAGE	16	17	16	15	18	15	18	12	10	22	19	6	184
LIST DEC. 1829	19	12	19	16	22	27	22	16	12	27	20	–	212
AVERAGE	19	6	19	16	22	27?	22	16?	12	27	20	–	206
LIST DEC. 1830	15	14	16	12	18	20	11	DISCONTD.	10	18	9	–	143
AVERAGE	10	9	10	10	15	20	9	DO.	4	10	5	–	102

school registers.[1] These schools were therefore brought under a Central school and Miss Mack was given charge as chief superintendent. She was helped by the wives of other missionaries, particularly Mrs. Marshman who also lent the pupils of her Ladies' Seminary for the purpose.[2] An extract from the School Report taken from the Friend of India may be quoted to describe the working of these Serampore Native Female Schools:

"The school meets every week-day morning at 8 a.m. and is dismissed in two hours, so that the children can scarcely feel any weariness from the length of their attendance, and every care is taken to prevent their doing so from monotony in their occupations. They are brought together in groups by the different masters, and are at first seated according to the former schools with which they would have been connected. But as soon as the roll has been called over, they separate and form themselves into classes, each under the care of a master, which are organised according to the progress that has been made by the scholars ..... The masters are paid in part according to the number of children brought by them to the school and in part according to the progress of the class under their care. The visitors either pass from class

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1. Friend of India: Periodical Accounts of the Serampore Mission, p.343 and 556.

2. Ibid.

to class, taking a general inspection of the whole, and keeping all in activity, or take some one class under their own care for a short time and conduct its pursuits, and then pass on to do the same to another; and this emulation is kept on the stretch amongst both masters and children. It has been very gratifying to observe, in many cases, how much the interest of the children in their pursuits has been increased by this constant inspection of a superior eye, and how strongly their affections may be won."[1]

Still the attendance fell at first, specially of those who were in the most advanced stages. This was largely ascribed to "the jealousy of the Hindus respecting the appearance of their females, after they begin to exceed the years of childhood". Gradually, however, the pupils came back and in a few years time female education had made sufficient progress to be regarded by "many of the natives a natural and beneficial thing, instead of being ..... in the estimation of all, a suspicious experiment."[2]

Nevertheless the Central School system had serious disadvantages. Small schools were more in accordance with the

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1. Friend of India: Periodical Accounts of the Serampore Mission, p.557
2. Report of the Serampore Native Female Schools, December 1829. Friend of India: Accounts of the Serampore Mission, p.558

habits and modes of thinking of the people. A village was the natural local unit and even Calcutta was to the lower classes, a vast conglomeration of several villages rather than a city. The village school-master was a familiar figure whose personality counted for much. Indian system of instruction emphasized the personal relationship between the guru (teacher) and his chela (pupil). The rather impersonal organisation of a large Central School was not likely to inspire either children or their parents.[1] Sometimes the teachers quarrelled and the Central School system had to be abandoned in favour of separate schools.[2]

Besides female education had not as yet acquired a firm hold on the minds of the people. If the girls would not go to school, it was necessary to bring the schools to them. The establishment of a Central School had precisely the opposite effect. Parents who had barely tolerated their daughters going to the school down their own lane shrunk from parting with them for some hours of the day to frequent one situated in a more distant and strange locality. Further pardah and custom alike decreed that girls, especially of the higher castes, must not be seen on the streets far from their homes. Only through small and widely scattered schools

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1. Calcutta Review, Vol.XXV, p.73.
2. J. Wilson: Memoir of Margaret Wilson, p.386

could it be hoped to attract girls of higher classes.[1]

Above all the Central School system confirmed and extended the pernicious practice of paying the girls for attending school. As girls could not go unaccompanied, female servants had to be employed to escort them to school. There was no method of ascertaining that these performed their duties faithfully other than making rates of payment dependent upon the number of scholars each of them brought to school. Payment was usually fixed at one pice [2] a day for each scholar and as further inducement an additional commission was given if the number of scholars exceeded a certain figure. As payments were made without any relation to the identity of girls brought from day to day, it often paid these matrons to purchase the attendance of any girls that they came across. They gave up part of their own commission to increase the number of girls. Thus they calculated that if they brought twenty girls, they would get twenty pysa; if they could bring thirty-two instead by giving each a quarter of a pice, they would still be gainers receiving twenty-four pysa. Once the

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1. Calcutta Review, Vol. XXV, p.73.
Scottish Ladies' Association Report, 1841, p.6.
Church of Scotland: Home and Missionary Record, Jan. 1842, Vol.II, p.12.
Mrs. Colin Mackenzie: Life in a Zenana, Vol.III, p.118

2. Pysa or pice was roughly equivalent to a farthing.

principle was introduced no girls would go to school without this douceur. Thus the scholars were often paid both by the missionaries and the women employed to collect the former.[1] To induce the girls to be regular in attendance the missionaries had to offer additional rewards.[2] Not only did all this involve unproductive expenditure, but it also fostered the tendency of receiving something for nothing. The number

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1. The attempt to cut the Hurkaraus' allowance resulted in failure. When on the objection taken by the Ladies' Society, Mrs. Wilson halved it, "the result was that for several days only from thirty to fifty were collected. The poor women candidly stated that they were obliged to give the children a trifle daily, either in food or fruit, or weekly, in pice, and that they could not subsist on what remained to them. Mrs. Wilson persevering for some time, the number increased to about 150, but beyond that no hope of further increase appeared, as the poor women got other employments. Mrs. Wilson offered the older girls a daily allowance if they would bring the younger children with them to school; but out of them all not six acceded to that proposal. And, therefore, after the fairest trial, and finding the number of children again decreasing, Mrs. Wilson was obliged to return to the old system, when, in a short time, the old teachers returned , and the school numbered 320 day scholars, besides 80 Christian girls who are entertained on the premises." (J. Long: Bengal as a Field of Missions, p.430.)

2. Church Missionary Society Intelligencer, Vol.I, p.183, 188. These sometimes assumed strange forms. Thus Mr. Cuthbert reported that once he was present at the weddings of four couples. Both he and the missionary's wife gave presents to them but "a marked distinction was made in the gifts between those girls who had attended school regularly and those who had not; and one poor girl, who had scarcely come at all until her marriage began to be talked of, was obliged to content herself with a very small share. This was all explained to the people, in whose presence the gifts were bestowed, in the hope of making a salutary impression upon them in favour of educating their daughters, against which there is still some prejudice lingering amongst them."

of scholars fluctuated and sometimes the attendance at school left little mark on the girls.[1]

The famine of 1832-33 in the Upper Provinces had led not only to the foundation of new Boarding schools. Many of the orphans collected were mere infants, who needed special treatment. The Infant School system was becoming popular in England and news of it had spread to India. It was therefore agreed upon "that proper persons, well conversant with Infant Instruction, and fully competent to give it an advantageous footing in this country should be sent from England." An Infant School Society was formed and the matter was referred to Rev. William Wilson, vicar of Walthamstow, Essex, who had done much to improve and popularise the system. A Mr. and Mrs. Perkins arrived from England in October, 1834 to take charge of the first Infant School in India which opened in January, 1835 with sixty children of both sexes between the ages of two and seven years.[2]

To collect money for this venture an exhibition of the Infant School system was arranged in Calcutta Town Hall. In June 1835 before a large and distinguished gathering a display

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1. Bengal Protestant Missionary Conference, 1855, p.148.
   Calcutta Review, Vol.XXV, p.75.
   J. J. Weitbrecht: Missions in Bengal, p.232.

2. Friend of India, February, 25th, 1836, p.61.

of imparting knowledge to children"by mixing it with song" was given. The discipline of the children showed that their instruction was not incompatible with the maintainance of their health and cheerfulness.[1] Some preparatory work could be done to make them more teachable when they grew older.[2]

The Infant School could be rendered further useful by extending its benefits to part timers. It could thus be employed as a means of gaining access to young mothers. There could hardly be a better and more direct way to their hearts than to evince an interest in their children. Also while their children were being looked after at school, the mothers would have liberty to sew and engage in other more interesting and useful occupations. Their interest could be fostered by founding Maternal Associations, meeting monthly to discuss the training of their children. This plan was adopted by the Americans and met with some success.[3]

The Calcutta Infant School made some initial headway. Mr. and Mrs. Perkins tried to train a few women in the Infant School system to take charge of similar schools to be opened in other parts of Bengal.[4] The example of Calcutta was noted

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1. Calcutta Christian Observer, Vol.IV July, 1835, p.384.
2. Mrs. Weitbrecht: Female Missionaries in India, p.123
3. Ibid, p.124.
4. Friend of India, Oct, 1835, p.331

by Madras where it was proposed to employ the Infant School to attract children of higher castes for at that "age prejudice in reference to sex or religion can scarcely be supposed to exist."[1] All the same Infant Schools never became very popular in India and even that at Calcutta was not a great success.[2]

Girls schools opened by missionaries followed the same pattern in Madras and Bombay Presidencies as in Bengal. As early as 1814, only a year after the missionaries were permitted to land in India, the Church Missionary Society sent two to Madras. They set out to form a Corresponding Committee to supervise the work in the whole Province. Some motherless girls at Madras were settled in a house under a woman's care.[3] Other bodies followed suit and day and boarding schools for girls were opened.[4] About 1830 some of these were more systematically organised.[5]

But on the whole in Madras Presidency, less strenuous efforts were made to reach non-Christian girls through the Day schools. Here there were compact Christian Communities.

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1. Scottish Ladies' Association Report, 1845, p.15.
2. Calcutta Christian Observer, Vol.VI, June, 1837, p.320
3. J. Hough: History of Christianity, Vol.IV, p.425.
4. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1818-19, p.151
Taylor's Memoir, p.186
R. Lovett: London Missionary Society, Vol.II, p.56
Pascoe, C. F: Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G., p.544
Missionary Records, Chapter VIII, p.238-40

(Footnotes 4 & 5 continued on next page)

which were non-existent elsewhere[1a] and most of the missionary resources seem to have been directed towards improving their condition. The number of missionaries was limited and the congregations were sufficiently numerous to absorb practically their whole attention. In fact there were not enough workers to minister to the needs of even Christian children. This often made separate schools for girls impracticable and they had to be taught in boys' schools.[2a] Further, caste feeling seems to have been very strong in the South. It not only prevented intermixing in schools but also demanded constant attention from the missionaries. As a result girls day schools for non-Christians were neither so numerous nor so popular as in Bengal and it was only very slowly that Hindu and Muslim girls of any social standing began to frequent them.[3a] All the same schools were more numerous, and the number of girls under instruction was higher than in the other Presidencies although the work, mainly, was confined to

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Footnotes 4 & 5 contd. from previous page

4. (Contd) Missionary Guide Book, p.149
Miller W.: Female Education in South India, p.12.

5. Sarah Tucker: South Indian Sketches, 1842, Vol.I. p.75

1a. G. Warneck: History of Protestant Missions, p.262.

2a. Friend of India, March 2nd, 1837, p.69.

3a. Reports of the Scottish Ladies' Association, 1844, p.23; 1845, p.14; 1847, p.17.
Missionary Record: Church of Scotland 1845-46, p.113.

Christians.[1] Their supervision was rendered easier and more efficient by the increase in the number of more pious and serious-minded Europeans.[2]

The American Marathi Mission was the pioneer in Bombay[3] and the school which it started in 1824 "was the first ..... of its kind in Western India". An outbreak of Cholera broke up the school but others were opened and a couple of years later there were nine with two hundred and four girls receiving instruction in them. The numbers continued to increase and later schools were opened in other parts of the Presidency.[4]

They were followed by the Scottish missionaries who laboured in different parts of Western India[5]. The schools opened by Mr. and Mrs. Wilson in 1829 are the best known. They included Day and Boarding schools and the plan of instruction adopted was practically the same as at Calcutta or Serampore.[6]

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1. See p. 370 Footnote
2. J. Mullens: Revised Missionary Statistics, 1852, p.9.
3. American Marathi Mission Memorial Papers 1831-1881, p.61. Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island, Vol.III, p.102.
4. American Marathi Mission Memorial Papers 1831-81, p.61-66
5. J. M. Mitchell: In Western India, p.47.
6. Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island, Vol.III, p.102 For a detailed description of these schools and special difficulties encountered in connection with them see J. Wilson: Life of Margaret Wilson.

On the whole, however, missionary schools in this Presidency were less numerous and less important than elsewhere.[1] There were many reasons for this. Bombay's importance had declined. It had been neglected by the Company and of the three Presidencies the European population was the least numerous there.[2] It was surrounded by Mahratta territory which was the last to come under direct British rule. The tradition of Brahman rule was more alive[3] especially as the inhabitants of this part of India were more self-reliant and independent-minded. The Social evils were not as crying and women enjoyed considerably more freedom than in other parts of the country. The missionaries met with particular difficulty in founding Christian communities and as a corollary boarding schools were still less numerous although natural catastrophes like famines and floods helped to fill a few with orphan girls.[4] Though the missionaries were less successful in Western India than elsewhere yet the prejudice against female education in this part of the country was on the whole weaker. Certain communities engaged in commerce, like the

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1. G. Warneck: History of Protestant Missions, p.269.
2. G. W. Forrest: Life of M. Elphinstone, p.80
3. Ibid.
4. Bombay School Society Report, 1834, p.17, mentions the admission of twenty-eight girls, an unusually large number. It was presumably as a result of the famine in Gujerat and Khandesh in that year.(A. Loveday: Indian Famines Appendix A. p.138)

Parsis and Jains, habitually educated their women and girls.[1] But they were strongly against any proselytising activities and in 1839 practically all the schools were broken up as a result of the conversion of two Parsi youths.[2]

Even so in Bombay Presidency an interesting attempt was made to attract a slightly better class of girls to the boarding schools. A compromise plan was evolved whereby "girls not altogether destitute, but generally of poor parents" could attend a mission boarding school. This was secured by paying them a small monthly sum for their attendance. They had to reside in the mission house for most of the week, being allowed an occasional visit to their parents for a day or so only. They were permitted to observe the rules enjoined by caste about food and drink. Either they cooked it themselves or it was sent to them by their parents from home.

The plan was adopted with some success by the American Mission. It relieved poor parents of the burden of supporting their daughters without their having to renounce their religion. It was advantageous to the missionaries in that the girls could be kept under closer and more continuous Christian religious influence than was possible in the Day

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1. The Evangelist Reporter, October, 1836, p.36. See Chapter IV.
2. A. Duff: Bombay in 1840.

schools. Home ties were not so completely severed as in average Boarding schools, where no provision was made for their religious prejudices. This also insured them against denationalisation which often followed when girls were brought up in Boarding schools in an environment quite different from that whence they had come. They left school on getting married but it was hoped that by that time they would have been sufficiently deeply affected to be of considerable service in spreading the new ideas among their people.[1] It was a praiseworthy effort to enlist more suitable women to further the cause of education and it is a pity that it was not more widely copied.

Missionaries in Bombay were equally determined to get higher caste girls to their Day schools. In this too they were more successful than fellow workers in the other Presidencies. By 1840 there were a number of schools in Bombay and the Presidency being attended by girls of higher social strata than was the case in either Madras or Bengal.[2]

The upper Provinces were strongholds of orthodoxy and missionaries experienced particular difficulty in opening schools.[3] The low character of Christian converts there was an additional handicap.[4] All the same the missionaries

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1. Missionary Record: Church of Scotland, Vol.II, p.255.
2. Scottish Ladies' Association Report, 1843, p.17.
3. Report of the North Western Provinces Missionary Conference, 1855, p.31
4. Mrs. Colin Mackenzie: Life in the Zenana, Vol.II, p.73.

persisted in their efforts and slowly made some headway.[1] In fact the increase in the number of scholars during the decade 1842-52 was largely due to the new schools opened in these Provinces.[2]

We have thus described the origins and first developments of female Day and Boarding Schools set up by the missionaries. The one had the purpose to prepare the ground for conversion, the other was adopted mainly to improve the tone of converts. They both had certain advantages and disadvantages. The day schools were cheaper[3] and needed less attention to run. Through them a far larger number of girls could be reached. But in practice they were not as effective. Mostly they were meant for Hindu and Moslem girls, but those of the higher castes did not frequent them. The girls left early on marriage, and all contact was lost with them. Their attendance was irregular as the girls absented themselves on the slightest pretext. Religious festivals and marriages of relations were excuses frequently put forward. Teachers at

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1. London Missionary Society Records: India, United Provinces, Box 1, Folder 1, Jacket C. Letters from The Rev. M. T. Adam Dated, Benares Jan, 20th, 1825, and Aug. 19th, 1825.
Ibid. Box 1, Folder 4, Jacket C. Letter from The Rev. W. M. Buyers Dated Benares Dec. 1st, 1833.
Ibid. Box 2, Folder 1, Jacket A. Letter from The Rev. R. C. Mathers Dated Benares Sept. 23rd, 1835.
Ibid. Box 3, Folder 5, Jacket A. Letter from The Rev. J. N. Schurrmann Dated Benares Nov. 2nd, 1851.
2. J. Mullens: Ten Years of Missionary Labour in India, p.152. Missionary Records, Chapter V; p.162.

(Footnote 3 on next page)

these schools were often inattentive and needed constant supervision which was difficult to provide. It was not always easy to introduce the Bible and Christian instruction in these schools, The masters and pupils alike objected and it had to be done tactfully.[1a] In these circumstances it was not surprising that the schools did little in impressing the girls with "Christian truths"[2a] In rare cases when they did succeed and a girl was converted, the schools were adversely affected. Parents withdrew their girls and the price of an occasional conversion was at least the temporary closing of the schools, No doubt the girls gradually came back but it was very disheartening to the missionaries that the attainment of their aim should at the same time mean a negation of their efforts.[3a]

Footnote 3 from previous page:

3. L.M.S. Records: South India: Kanarese Box 6 Folder 4 Jacket A. Letter from Rev. B. Rice, Dated Bangalore, July 16th 1844.
S. Tucker: South Indian Missionary Sketches, Vol.II p.150. Missionary Guide Book, 1846, p.149 Cost of instruction of a day scholar was 12s. per annum and that of a boarder £3.

1a. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1818-19 p.125. Friend of India: Periodical Accounts of the Serampore Mission, p.207.

2a. Church Missionary Register, 1832, p.141. Mrs. Wilson complained that "the girls in the higher classes answer questions relative to the plan of salvation most accurately; but I have no reason to hope, at this moment, that there is one heathen child in the school who is anxious to flee from the wrath to come."

3a. Christian Intelligencer, July, 1834. Vol. IV, p.344.

No wonder then the missionaries pronounced the day schools to be failures and showed a preference for boarding schools instead. True they cost more as the girls had to be boarded and lodged, still they were remarkably cheap costing no more than three pounds a head per annum on the average.[1] They required much closer attention, allowing little free time to those in charge of them. But the results were quicker and more substantial in proportion.[2] As they were under the constant care of the missionaries and their wives in a Christian atmosphere free from any contradictory home ties, they responded more readily. Indian festivals did not affect their attendance at schools and care was taken to separate them as far as possible from the atmosphere outside, by constructing solid brick walls around these institutions. Neither did they suffer from the withdrawal of girls following upon a conversion, and their instruction in Christian truths could proceed without hindrance from outside. Even when the girls left school they were not entirely lost as they were married to Catechists and the like, or employed as Bible-women. They kept in touch with their teachers and constantly sought their advice as the Christian communities and congregations were

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1. Missionary Guide Book, 1846, p.149
Priscilla Chapman: Hindu Female Education, p.141 estimated the cost of maintaining a boarder at Rs. 2 p.m.

2. Mrs. Weitbrecht: Female Missionaries in India, p.136.

also supervised by the missionaries. Those who undertook the work of boarding schools could more easily see the results of their labours and get greater satisfaction out of it.

But the boarding schools had two serious disadvantages. As home ties were completely severed, the vast majority of these schools were confined to orphans and Christians and could not embrace Hindu and Moslem girls within their scope.[1] The children belonging to the lowest strata of Society were generally below the average in intelligence and character. The certainty of being provided for acted as a "narcotic" prevented them from developing to the full their mental capacities.[2] Further these schools required closer supervision which was not easy to obtain.[3] As the girls were under constant European influence they tended to identify themselves with them and showed traces of denationalisation, which restricted their usefulness in propagating the new ideas among their people. The missionaries aimed not only at teaching Christian virtues but also to foster among them a sense of proselytizing zeal for the uplift of their fellow countrywomen. This was not easy as the girls tended to acquire the prejudices of Europeans and to show an apathy for the fate of

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1. J. Mullens: Revised Statistics of Missions, 1852, p.3. Bengal Protestant Missionary Conference, 1855, p.177.
2. Mrs. Colin Mackenzie: Life in Zenana, Vol.III, p.189.
3. Ibid.

their Indian sisters, While the latter in their turn did not regard them highly for changing their religion.[1] From the financial point of view, these schools necessarily involved greater expenditure than the day schools.[2]

Thus the influence of day schools though more widespread was long-term, indirect and not so tangible; the boarding schools necessarily narrower and more restricted in scope yielded quick and more perceptible results. Though individual missionaries showed a predilection for one type or the other, they continued to employ both, as each embraced a distinct sphere of activity.

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1. Female Education in India Associations Minutes Book, December 16th, 1845. (Church of Scotland Records)
ScottishLadies' Association Report, 1848, p.11.
India Office Tracts 637: American Board of Missions Report 1856 p.13.
Thus Rev. G. Cuthbert, secretary of the Calcutta C.M.S. considered "Separation from too frequent native intercourse" desirable, but "it must however be done with judgment and caution. A total and violent cutting off ..... from all communication with their natural connections, would have the effect of rendering them aliens in the land of their fathers; and in a great measure frustrate the object in view in their education. Such a degree of separation, as would weaken the objectionable influence of native superstitions, maxims and habits over their minds, and give the better principles and methods acquired by education opportunity to take root and develope themselves, would seem desirable - But not such a degree, as would destroy the children's domestic feelings or relative affections, or make them feel disgust at the legitimate manners and customs of their country. One means towards this end, I should think to be, removing from about young people, whilst at school, uneducated natives, whether Christian or heathen, and making the children as far as practicable, their own attendants." He therefore advocated only "judiciously regulated intercourse with European Christians, who are Christians indeed." (J. Long: Handbook of Bengal Missions, p.433-34)
2. L.M.S. Records: South India, Kanarese, Box 4 Folder 4, Jacket C. Letter from Rev. J. Sewell, dated Bangalore Aug. 17th 1840

SECTION C

Schools for European & Eurasian girls, 1800-82

We have already seen that in the earliest female schools girls of different races and religions received instruction tinged with a Christian bias.[1] Though Hindu or Moslem girls were not denied admission, undoubtedly these schools had mainly attracted Europeans, Eurasians and Indian Christians, except in the Bazaar Day Schools. Their main defect had been the narrow concentration on teaching girls accomplishments with a view to matrimony, rather than on imparting a wider knowledge.

The advent of the evangelical revival tended to change this state of affairs. Anglo-Indian Society was reformed and took on a more serious and pious tone. But at the same time it became more exclusive and gradually abandoned social contact with Indians who, it was said, persisted in "heathen practices". The Eurasians naturally suffered, for the Europeans disowned them and henceforward tended to identify them with the Indians. The Eurasians responded to this on the familiar sociological pattern. Wherever there are three

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1. Chapter II, p. 96.

social strata, the middle tends to identify itself with that above, distinguishing itself as sharply as possible from the one below.

Girls' schools reflected these changes. Inspired with religious enthusiasm, the newer teachers had a nobler conception of their calling than that of making money only. They brought great energy and zeal to bear upon their task and a definite sense of purpose. The tone of society became more serious. In the schools marriage was still considered very important for girls, but frivolity and vanity were gradually replaced by considerations of good character in the choice of brides. There is little doubt that considerable improvements all round were introduced in these schools.

But at the same time the schools were not immune from the widening division in society. Separate schools were founded for European girls, from which Eurasians were excluded. The Eurasians protested vigorously against this discrimination.[1] They emphasised their ties with Europeans and to receive better treatment from the latter they founded separate schools for the higher classes to distinguish themselves, not only from the Indians, but from their own less fortunate kith and kin. There were still schools, mixed in character, where Europeans and Eurasians and even some Indian girls received instruction

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1. Calcutta Review, Vol.LXXVI p.103-4. The Eurasian Movement of 1829-30.
F. Shore: Notes on Indian Affairs, Vol.I p.106.

together. Nevertheless the tendency to racial and class exclusiveness in girls' schools became no less apparent than in society in India, as we examine more closely the development of new educational institutions. The key to these developments is to be found in Bengal where there were twice as many Eurasians as in Bombay and Madras Presidencies put together, and of those two-thirds were concentrated in Calcutta alone.[1]

From 1793 onwards or even earlier there was a small trickle of evangelical officers and men into the army who formed "pious circles" within it. The wives of some of these officers, instead of adopting the usual routine of Anglo-Indian life, directed their thoughts towards more "serious" activities. The most famous of these was Mrs. Sherwood whose husband, was a captain in the Army. She mainly wrote children's books inculcating principles of morality and religion, and became one of the most popular authoresses of her day. Wherever in India her husband happened to be posted, she tried to open a girls' school. She was mainly interested in the children of the regiments but Indian boys and girls were at first allowed to attend her school.[2]

But as time went on she concentrated more on the "condition of white motherless girls in European regiments in India".

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1. Parliamentary Committee Reports, 1831-32, Vol.IX. p.314.
2. Sophia Kelly: Life of Mrs. Sherwood, p.307

She was one of the moving spirits behind the foundation of the European Female Orphan Asylum at Calcutta in 1815. She and Mrs. Thomason succeeded in getting the Countess of London interested in the matter without whose support the liberal, private and Government, subscriptions on which the institution depended might not have been forthcoming.[1] It is also interesting to note that she did not inform Mr. Parson, one of her closest and best friends, as he was married to "a lady not entirely white".[2] Admission was confined to girls of pure European parentage for in Mrs. Sherwood's opinion "it had already been proved that the two descriptions could not be mixed without the greatest detriment to the smaller party".[3] Much trouble was caused by the East Indians who regarded this restriction as a slur upon them.[4]

The plan of instruction adopted was the monitorial system.[5] The school was a success. Generous private contributions helped by a Government grant of Rs.200 p.m. contributed towards the efficiency of the school. In fifteen years the

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1. J. Hough: The History of Christianity in India, Vol.IV. p.390-2.
2. Life & Times of Mrs. Sherwood: Edited by E. J. Harvey Darton (from her Diaries) p.396
3. Ibid.
4. J. Hough: The History of Christianity in India, Vol.IV. p.390-2
   Thomason's Memoirs, p.252-3
   Sophia Kelly: Life of Mrs. Sherwood, p.505.
5. Calcutta Annual Register, 1822, p.254.

number of girls had increased to 80.[1]

On leaving schools pupils were employed by ladies as servants and many were married to "respectable tradesmen" in Calcutta.[2] But the expectation of using them as teachers in Indian female schools does not seem to have been realised. They began to learn Bengali to be able to teach in Miss Cooke's Schools[3] but the attempt does not seem to have been very successful. Partly, of course, the difficulty lay in learning Bengali, but this should not have been insuperable as they had been brought up in India. But the growing feeling of racial exclusiveness affected much more strongly poor whites and Eurasians; their assumption of superiority seems to have been more effective in preventing them from earning their own living in this way and at the same time helping to spread education among the Indians.[4] This was all the more regrettable for there was an acute shortage of female teachers,[5] while the economic needs of Eurasian women were equally pressing. They tended to imitate Europeans and tried to keep up a standard of living which they could ill afford.[6] Growing

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1. J. Statham: Indian Recollections, 1832, p.459
2. J. Long: A Handbook of Bengal Missions, p.400
3. Calcutta Annual Register, 1822, p.254.
4. P. Chapman: Hindu Female Education, 1839, p.69
5. See Chapter viii.
6. Calcutta Review, June 1849 p.85. Ibid 1881 p.72. Quoting an advertisement from India Gazette of Dec. 30th 1831 from the Mother of Henry Vivian Derozio.
F. Shore: Notes on Indian Affairs, Vol. I p.106.

prejudice against them among the Europeans was making it increasingly difficult for them to marry the Company's officers as in the past.[1] If the Eurasians had shown greater co-operation both they and the Indian female schools would have benefitted.

As it was, this opportunity for co-operation was missed but efforts continued to be made to improve existing schools and to found new ones. The Eurasian Movement of the Twenties gave an impetus to these efforts by drawing attention to the disabilities under which they laboured and the need to improve their position. The Parental Academy was a direct result of this movement, but the La Martiniere, founded a few years later, is a far more interesting institution and deserves greater attention.

Major-General Claude Martin,[2] an adventurer of the old type, died in 1800 leaving the major portion of his fortune to

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1. Parliamentary Committee Report, 1831-32. Vol IX, p.314.

2. C. E. Buckland: Dictionary of Indian Biography, 1906, p.276-77.

Martin, Claude (1735-1800).

"General: a French soldier of fortune:..... son of silk manufacturer at Lyons: ..... went out as a trooper in Lally's bodyguard to India, 1758: to avoid Lally's severity he deserted with the bodyguard at Pondicherry, 1761, to the British, for whom he raised a French company of Cavalry: sent up to Bengal: Captain: employed in survey in N.E. Bengal and in Oudh: joined ..... the service of the Nawab Vizier of Oudh as superintendent of his artillery and arsenal: gained great influence and accumulated large wealth ..... rose to be Major-General in 1796: built at Lucknow a very large castellated residence for himself, which he called Constantia: he directed in his Will that it should

(Footnote 2 continued on next page.)

charities. Nothing seems to have been done until 1832, when the Court issued a Decree appointing a Board of Governors including the Governor-General, the Bishop of Calcutta, the Judges of the Supreme Court and the Advocate-General, to administer the funds.[1a] They decided that these funds could best be used to establish a school for boys, another for girls. Accordingly the La Martiniere was founded on March 1st, 1836. It was a public boarding school for girls who could not afford the luxury of being instructed in one of the private Seminaries but all the same deserved something better than orphan Asylums. Its charity was extended not to "the ragged poor" but to the "respectable poor" and to the rich who cared to take advantage of it. It was non-sectarian in character and its constitution was a compromise between the principles of Catholicism, Church of England and Presbyterianism.[2a]

Footnote 2 continued from previous page:

never be sold, but should serve as a college for educating children in the English religion and language: in this building, now called "La Martiniere", he was himself buried, as he directed: he left thirty-three lakhs of rupees, and bequeathed large sums, the interest thereof to be distributed to the poor of Lucknow, Calcutta, Chandernagore and Lyons: and largely endowed the Martiniere College at Calcutta, which was constructed, 1833-5, from his legacy for the purpose: he died at Lucknow, Sept.13th 1800."

1a. Calcutta Review, Vol.XLII, 1866, p.64.

2a. Calcutta Review, Vol. XIII, 1850, p.459.

The teachers were highly paid and the establishment was large and expensive.[1] Great care was taken to choose the teachers and some difficulty was experienced in finding a suitable head-mistress.[2] Though the salaries of the staff of the female branch of the school were less than half those of the male, judged by the standards of those days they were generous.[3]

Madras[4] and Bombay showed similar developments, though the European and Eurasian elements there were far less important and numerous than in Bengal. In Bombay, however, the change was more clearly marked. "The Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor" had included within its scope Indian, European and Eurasians alike, though the last two had received more attention.[5] But in 1820 the Society formed a separate branch, the Elphinstone Native Education Institution, with the object of establishing vernacular schools and preparing school books in Indian languages. In 1822 the original Society restricted its operations to the education of European

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1. Calcutta Review, Vol.XIII, 1850, p.459.
2. Friend of India, 1836, p.28.
3. Friend of India, Thursday, October, 1835; p.331.

Headmaster	Rs.600 p.m.	Headmistress	Rs.250 p.m.
Assistant Master	Rs.150 p.m.	Assistant Mistress	Rs. 70 p.m.

Free quarters being provided for all.

4. S. Tucker: South Indian Missionary Sketches, Vol.I, p.88-9
5. See this Chapter p.83

and Eurasian children. It severed its connection with the Elphinstone Institution which henceforth provided for the education of Indians under the title of "The Bombay Native School Book and School Society". Five years later its designation was changed to Bombay Native Education Society.[1] In 1840 it was merged in the Board of Education which for fifteen years shared with missionary bodies the burden of educational administration.

The subsequent history of the schools for European and Eurasian girls in the second half of the nineteenth century largely falls outside the scope of this thesis as they were not concerned with the education of Indian girls. However, some of the more important features may be conveniently noted here, though falling outside the chronological limits of this Chapter.

During this period the centrifugal tendencies in Society noted above became more marked. The Mutiny accelerated the pace of growing racial exclusiveness and these schools reflected the change. No doubt many new schools were opened, particularly in the hills, to meet the needs of the growing European and Eurasian population.[2] Western education was also bringing into existence a new class of Indians more sympathetic to European

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1. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol.III; p.101.
2. The Ladies' Society of the Church Missionary Society Report, 1853; p.2.

ideas. But only a few Indian girls received instruction in these schools which were for the most part infected with class and colour snobbery. Europeans of the highest class, taking advantage of improved communications, almost invariably sent their daughters to Britain for their education. There was "much unwillingness ..... among teachers to give information about the social position of the children" as obviously it was a delicate and difficult task. Still, out of 1466 European girls in Calcutta schools returns were submitted for 559; of these none were reported to be from "the upper ranks" and only 327 came from the middle-class.[1]

Colour snobbery was no less rampant. Some schools were meant for girls of pure European descent only, others also admitted Eurasian girls. Some of the better ones, such as La Martiniére, also admitted a limited number of Indian girls. There was great prejudice against the appointment of a "country-born woman", however well qualified, as head of one of these schools. A school to retain its popularity, had to have a British-born woman as its head. The historian of these schools painfully records "The Diocesan Board have echoed the same cry that while masters for boys schools may be obtained in this country, it is almost impossible to recruit females. I think

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1. Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1874-75; p.94.

it is a pity that such a remark has found its way into print from such a source."[1]

Recruitment of English women teachers was not easy. Mistresses were changed frequently and with them the text-books. This necessarily slowed down the progress of pupils and made their education very expensive. Nor were matters improved by the absence of a single authority to prescribe curriculum and set books. Unlike the Indian schools, no University crowned the edifice. Each school claimed to give education of the highest type. There was no uniform standard by which these claims could be checked.[2] As no records were kept, the attainments of the pupils could not be verified. The only index of the efficiency of a school was its popularity, a very unsatisfactory criterion.[3]

No doubt some of these schools were efficiently run but others fell below standard, imparting instruction of a very elementary character. Thus, of the 816 girls in Calcutta schools about whom reports were sent to the Education Department, 600 were in the primary stage, 216 in the middle, but none in the upper stage. Three of the best institutions, however, did not submit any returns. According to Inspector

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1. A. J. Lawrence I.C.S: European and Eurasian Schools, p.15 (India Office Records)
2. Ibid. p.14.
3. Ibid. p.16.

Woodrow, even if they had, not more than fifty girls would have been classed as being in the upper stage.[1]

The option to submit information or not had, on the whole, a baneful influence on the schools. It can be argued that the absence of interference from outside and lack of uniform standards had the advantage of giving a broader educational basis without necessarily detracting from the quality of the instruction imparted. But it had the great defect of shielding inefficient schools and baulking any talk of reform. Various proposals for improvement, such as the establishment of a central Board for European Schools empowered to arrange the status of different schools, select masters and mistresses, choose school-books, and above all to see that their finances were properly managed, came to nothing as the schools were too proud of their autonomy. Significantly enough, the promoters of these schools succeeded in having them excluded from the purview of the Hunter Commission, which was appointed in 1882 to enquire into the state of Indian education.[2]

The exclusion of these schools from the national system of education did great harm. It reinforced Indian prejudice against sending their daughters to them for the fear of denationalisation. It deprived Indian schools of a valuable

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1. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal 1874-75; p.94
2. Report of the Indian Education Commission 1882;

supply of female teachers. Above all, if Western culture was to take root in India, these schools were the obvious place wherein the children of different races could learn to understand each other in a sympathetic and tolerant atmosphere. Instead, racial exclusiveness, resulting in the lack of intimate personal contacts, rendered the Western education of Indian girls somewhat superficial and nebulous: European and Eurasian girls on the other hand, confined to their narrow shells, grew up in ignorance of their environment, and what was worse, despising everything "native".

Thus these schools remained confined to a class. They neither promoted racial harmony nor attempted a synthesis of cultures so diverse. In fact, with the rise of political consciousness in India, they became a target of criticism for the Nationalists. Indians tried to show that an inordinate expenditure was incurred by these schools while Indian education was being starved. The Government and other supporters of these schools vehemently denied the charge. Whatever the merits of the controversy in such an atmosphere, neither of the above ideals could have been pursued with any promise of success. With a little imagination things could so easily have been different. But schools reflect the state of society which supports them; a change in their outlook could hardly be expected without a wider adjustment of Indo-European relationship.

SECTION D

Summary and State of Missionary Education in 1852

We have now described some of the more important and typical developments in the sphere of female education from 1700-1854. The bare facts, however, cannot adequately reveal the energy and enthusiasm with which the promoters pursued their object. Violent controversies, newspaper campaigns, social gatherings,[1] essay-prizes[2] and indeed all means that would serve to publicise the cause, were employed. Day, Boarding and Infant Schools, as well as other institutions for the poor and for the more well to do of different races came

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1. The most important of these were the "Annual Examinations" of different schools; a report appearing in a paper reads thus:
"The Bengali Schools were then examined; but only a few from each class could be selected from the crowd. The children however pressed forward to exhibit their progress lest they should lose the opportunity, thrusting books in the hands of all who would receive them and the work of examination, therefore, became general; but with such confusion and noise that at length it was necessary to clear the room of all scholars before order could be restored. This troublesomeness however afforded the most gratifying evidence of the change of feeling that had taken place since the schools were first established. Then the collecting together in a single school was thought impossible and the introduction of the scriptures, madness, and the presence of Europeans was dreaded as an abomination..... All the girls present on the occasion received rewards from Mr. and Mrs. Marshman." (Friend of India, Vol.I 1835; p.28)
See also Chapter III p. 213

2. K. M. Bannerjee's Essay on Native Female Education which won an all India prize is of considerable interest to the historian.

into existence. Experimental spirit was not wanting and new ventures were launched as easily as they were withdrawn.

Despite the hopes and fears of individuals, female education had been steadily progressing. By 1852 female schools had become an indispensable auxiliary to missionary work. Practically all the missionary societies devoted considerable attention to the subject, some more than others. The Church Missionary Society was easily the most active of them all, as shown by the following table:[1]

Societies 1852	Began Work in India	Girls				Boys					
		Vernacular				Vernacular				English	
		Day Schools	Girls	Bdg. Schools	Girls	Day Schools	Boys	Bdg. Schools	Boys	Schools	Boys
Church Missionary Society	1815	115	3507	33	1071	409	14660	32	1020	28	2285
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel	1727	50	1343	13	284	173	4525	17	400	9	390
London Missionary Society	1805	50	1313	19	567	271	9834	13	263	19	1739
Weslyan Missionary Society	1819	34	1196	2	42	79	3404	1	22	11	718
American Board of Commissioners	1812	44	1454	3	153	152	5038	7	222	16	740
Baptist Missionary Society	1793	10	218	6	98	67	2651	2	19	11	353
Free Church of Scotland	1830	22	1398	4	93	25	1213	–	–	15	471.4
Established Church of Scotland	1830	17	724	3	63	18	747	1	7	6	2460
Basle Missionary Society	1830	8	127	3	120	42	1699	6	105	2	110
American Presbyterian Mission	1834	2	63	3	62	17	706	3	48	10	963
General Baptist Mission	1822	1	4	2	79	6	81	2	100	–	–
American Baptist Mission	1840		2	4	44	14	460	2	60	–	–

1. J. Mullens: Revised Statistics of Missions, p.26. The figures refer to the year 1852.

This table also gives some idea of the volume and expansion of missionary work in the sphere of education. From modest beginnings in its early years the work had steadily increased until in 1852 eleven thousand, three hundred and forty eight girls were receiving instruction in 359 schools run by the missionaries.[1] Except in the Madras Presidency most of this work was confined to urban areas. In Bengal and Bombay Presidencies, the schools and scholars both were mainly concentrated in the towns of Calcutta and Bombay.[2]

Many missionaries were critical of these results. Judged from the size of the country and the number of its inhabitants, only a fringe of the population had been reached. They complained of the paucity both of funds and of suitable female teachers. Most of the girls under instruction attended day schools which accounted for 8772 out of the total of 11,348.[3]

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1. J. Mullens: Results of Missionary Labours in India, 1856; p.22
The figures refer to the year 1852 and have been arrived at by subtracting the number of schools and scholars for Ceylon from the total.
G. Warneck: The History of Protestant Missions.

2. J. Mullens: Revised Statistics of Missions.

1852	Day Schools		Boarding Schools	
Province & Town	Schools	Girls	Schools	Girls
Bengal (minus Assam)	21	653	23	684
Calcutta Town	10	428	4	143
Bombay Presidency	37	1222	6	101
Bombay Town	23	922	3	62
Madras Presidency	191	6639	52	1470
Madras Town	19	1390	4	140

3. J. Mullens: Revised Statistics of Missions, p.26.

Much of the work was of a very elementary character. But above all the missionaries were disappointed in their expectations that the spread of female instruction would be followed by mass conversions to Christianity. In fact the chief cause of the instability of these schools was the fear of conversion. An occasional conversion often emptied whole schools for a time. This led the missionaries to question the wisdom of establishing day schools which seemed to do so little towards furthering their end, conversion. Boarding schools were more popular with them.[1] But there were still some who supported the day schools; when the Scottish "Deputation and Home Committee" ordered the closure of some of these schools, Dr. Wilson of Bombay, the veteran educationalist, protested strongly, requesting them to "reverse their action and allow the schools to be re-opened!"[2]

But there were signs of promise. During this time a new factor favouring the foundation of girls' day schools had

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1. L.M.S. Records: Box 5, Folder 3, Jacket B; Letter of Rev. J. Campbell dated Calcutta, September 27th 1838.
J. Mullens: Results of Missionary Labour in India, p.22
Report of Baptist Missionary Conference, 1855; p.49.
Mrs. Weitbrecht: Female Missionaries in India, 1841; p.136
Calcutta Review, Vol.XXV, September, 1855; p.89
38th Report of the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society.
Calcutta Christian Observer, January, 1836, Vol.V; p.36.
India Office Tracts 637: Report of the American Board of Missions; p.28.

2. Church of Scotland Records: Letter of Dr. Wilson, dated June 9th 1856, commenting on the Kolhapur Mission Report of 1855.

become operative. Dr. Duff, and others like him, who, believing that the education of girls could only follow in the wake of boys', and who had therefore so far concentrated on the instruction of the latter alone, now turned their attention to the girls. As foreseen by them, a class of educated Indians favourably inclined towards the instruction of women had come into existence by 1850. It was largely to meet the needs of this class that day schools for girls of higher castes were opened in the first instance. This class, partly created by the missionaries, was to play an increasingly important part in co-operation with sympathetic missionaries and the Government in the second half of the nineteenth century.

We can now briefly summarise the developments described in this chapter. In the eighteenth century, with the exception of the Tranquebar Mission, the main impetus to female education on Western lines came from the needs of the European and mixed populations that economic contact with the West had brought into existence. Voyages to England being long, hazardous and expensive, only the children of richer Europeans could be sent to England for their education. Provision had, therefore, to be made for the education of the children of poorer Europeans, especially those of the soldiers in the Company's army, in India. Their condition left much to be desired and the children specially required protection if they

were to get a fair chance in life. Day and Boarding Schools were founded for girls as well as boys to protect them from adverse influences. The impulse behind the foundation of these schools was humanitarian and not proselytising.

However, female education became a matter of public importance and public discussion only when resurrected by the missionaries at the beginning of the nineteenth century. India began to feel the full impact of the Evangelical Revival from 1813 onwards when the Country was opened to the missionaries. Men and women arrived in the country to work directly or indirectly for the conversion of India to Christianity. These encouraged female education with the dual purpose of finding fresh converts and improving those already baptised. Their efforts embraced all sections of the population, European, Eurasian, and Indian, for whom they established new schools and reformed those already existing. Female schools of various types were attached to most missions and the advice of missionaries was often sought by those who were opposed to their schemes of proselytism.

But Indian Social and economic conditions, the growing gulf between the races, the scarcity of funds and suitable female teachers,[1] inexperience and lack of suitable organisation and plans,[2] the emphasis on proselytism, and last but

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1. See p. 115, 122-23.
2. Ibid.

certainly not least, the nature of evangelical Christianity itself,[1] all adversely affected the quality of instruction imparted, and the numbers of Indian girls receiving it.

All the same their achievements were by no means insignificant. They had succeeded in attracting an appreciable number of girls to the schools. Even if much of the work was of an elementary character and was confined to urban centres, the idea of educating women was spreading and acquiring some hold on the minds of the people. Though girls' education still lagged behind that of boys', the proportion of girls to boys under instruction was increasing.[2] Missionary societies were aware of this disparity and were adopting special measures to eliminate it.[3] Payments for the attendance of girls at schools were being discontinued and the stage had been reached when nominal fees could be levied to discover whether there were a genuine demand for female schools.[4] The schools themselves were being improved and the need for discipline, punctuality and regular attendance emphasised. Attendance registers were kept and detailed reports on the progress of schools and scholars were drawn up. The problem of providing suitable female teachers was also being faced.

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1. P. 124-127.
2. J. Mullens: Ten Years of Missionary Labour in India; p.152
3. Church Missionary Society's Ladies' Society Report 1852; p.5.
4. J. Mullens: Ten Years of Missionary Labour in India; p.143-44
Established Church of Scotland's Ladies' Association Report 1854; p.16.

Even the girls of the higher castes were being reached with some success. And above all the example of the missionaries inspired the Government and the Indians to accept their responsibility in the matter. It is no small tribute to the great interest taken by the missionaries in education, that the famous Education Despatch of 1854 was drawn up under the influence of two of them. Duff and Marshman were said to be closely connected with the clauses concerning female education in particular. However, before proceeding further we must describe the foundation and work of some of the typical organisations and agencies which made these results possible.

CHAPTER III

THE FOUNDATION AND GROWTH OF TYPICAL FEMALE EDUCATION SOCIETIES 1818-1882

Section A

We saw in the last chapter how from an early date enlightened Europeans, especially the wives of the missionaries, were instructing Indian women and girls. Their actual experience confirmed their belief in female education as an effective instrument in promoting greater understanding, improving the general tone of Society, raising young Christian communities and in consolidating the work of evangelisation. But the efforts of the individuals, however strenuous and sustained, could not claim the permanence and continuity of an organisation. The defects were obvious. A historian of missionary education justly summed up the situation in these words:

> "The picture presented is one of a fragmentary character, for it tells of spasmodic efforts of a few individuals, unorganised and burdened with heavy work of various kinds. There was certainly no well defined purpose in the school work carried on during this period, and though probably we haven't obtained all the facts, so that the figure should be greater than they are here recorded, yet it must be borne in mind

> that the work was nearly all of a very elementary sort and even, we might say, of an inferior nature. Many of the schools were no sooner formed than they were abandoned, and it would not be possible to say that all those enrolled in them were educated to any degree of proficiency. Still, these few facts gathered together represent the beginning of a great movement."[1]

The individuals engaged in instructing girls were the first to recognise these limitations on their work. They therefore sought the co-operation and support of their missionary societies at the Presidency Towns. These in turn won over their Home Missionary Societies towards devoting special attention to the problem of educating Indian girls. The Home Societies entrusted this work to their "Ladies' Societies" and were content to exercise only general supervision. Gradually closely knit organisations, connected with the various missionary societies, came into existence. They had their headquarters in London with branches extending to small towns and villages in England and India. These can be more clearly represented by a diagram:

(See diagram next page)

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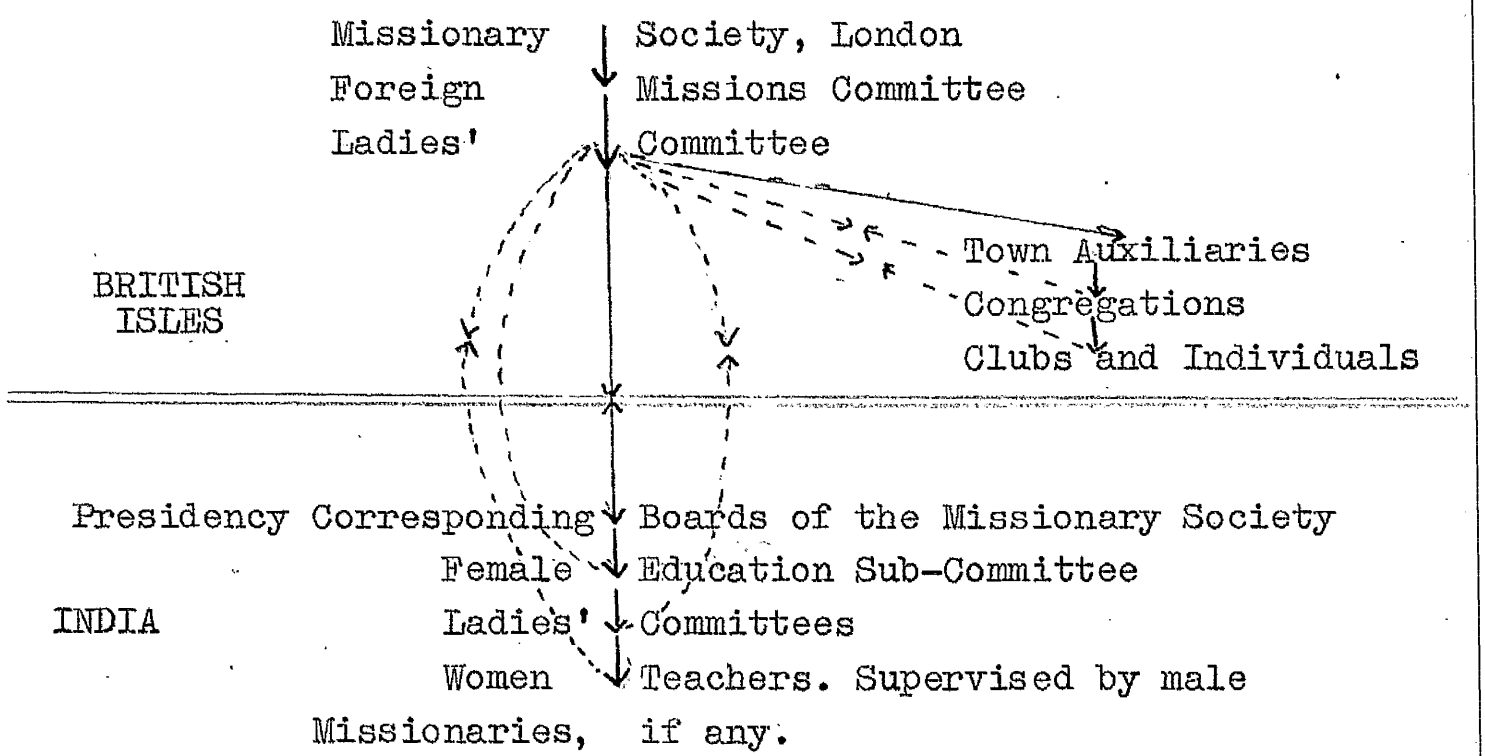
1. H. Huizinga: Missionary Education in India; p.17-18.



N.B. The ordinary lines show the normal channels of communications between the Ladies' Committee in London and their women teachers in India. The dotted ones show that it could communicate directly with any of these subordinate bodies, and vice-versa.

Sometimes the work of female education was separated from that of the missionary society which initiated it, and an independent Female Education Society was formed to enlist the co-operation of those who fought shy of denominational and proselytising activities.

British women in thus helping Indian women also unsuspectingly helped themselves. By stepping outside the purely domestic sphere, they considerably enlarged the scope of their activities without rousing the suspicions of their menfolk.

The experience they thus acquired gave them a greater self-confidence which stood them well when their advance was blocked by male prejudices. It is the purpose of this chapter to describe some of these developments.

The credit for the first successful attempt at a suitable organisation to educate Indian girls goes to the Baptists. In 1819 they founded the "Calcutta Juvenile Society for the Education of Native Females", the earliest attempt to promote the instruction of girls in India by means of Female Education Societies.[1] The relative merits of direct preaching and of education continued to be debated until long afterwards, and the Baptists themselves were surpassed by others in educational work. But this Society was important, as it provided the model for similar organisations founded in connection with other churches. Its origins therefore may be traced in some detail.

The Baptist missionaries had taken an early interest in education. They were poor and from the time of Carey had lodged together to minimise their expenses. As at that time there were no decent European girls' schools in India, their wives supplemented the income of the missions by receiving girl-boarders in their household.[2] Thus the joint household

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1. W. Adam: State of Protestant Missions 1824; p.200
2. H. Huizinga: Missionary Education in India; p.10

of Mrs. Lawson, Penny and Yates contained European and Eurasian girl boarders in 1811.[1] When a little later another woman sold her seminary owing to ill-health, these women bought it and continued to conduct it at a profit.[2] It was in this young ladies' Seminary, as it was called, that the idea of forming a society to promote the education of Indian girls was born.

Other circumstances were also favourable. Owing to the growing prejudice against Europeans marrying Eurasian girls and owing to the improvement in communications with England which brought a great influx of European women into India, "country-born young ladies" found it increasingly difficult to secure suitable husbands. If they could earn their living they would be in a better position to wait until the desired man turned up. As teaching was one of the few careers open to women at this time, encouraged by the example of their teachers, their thoughts naturally turned towards the instruction of Indian girls. Mr. W. H. Pearce, the corresponding secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society who,

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1. J. Hobey: Memoir of W. Yates; p.107

2. J. Hobey: Memoirs of W. Yates; p.90 & p.113: quoting from Journal, December 10th 1818; "on 1st July brother Lawson and myself, with our families removed into the house lately occupied by Mrs. Murray, whose Seminary we purchased, as our wives were willing to superintend it."

as secretary of the Calcutta School Society, was aware of the favourable Indian opinion on the subject, immediately took advantage of the situation. He circulated an address among the friends and supporters of the Baptist Mission in which he asserted that "in the Province of Bengal alone, at least 10,000 widows were annually sacrificed; and thirty-times a day, a deed repeated which ought to call forth our tenderest pity, as well as our most vigorous exertions."

The following excerpt from this address shows the plan he had in mind to ameliorate the condition of Indian women: "If therefore, we wish to raise the females of this country to their proper level ..... let us endeavour most strenuously to promote their education. We cannot suppose, young ladies, that by your exertions alone, 10,000 will be saved annually from the funeral pile, or the female population of seventy-millions emancipated from the chains of ignorance and vice, but if through your endeavours, an affectionate parent is preserved to only one family, the light of knowledge shall disperse the gloom of ignorance from the minds of only a few females. You have done much: they will bless your memories, and it may be that others, witnessing your exertions may be stimulated to something more extensive and permanent, and thus your beneficial influence be widely diffused.

"We are confident, therefore, we shall anticipate your

wishes, by proposing the formation of a small society for the promotion of female education amongst the Hindus. It is a pleasing fact, that a few Hindu girls have lately met together to receive instruction in the City, and assured a learned native, with whom we are acquainted, that if any person would provide for their instruction, they knew that, besides themselves, eight or ten more would willingly attend. You have therefore an opportunity, at a small expense, of securing to yourselves the honour of encouraging this infant attempt, which without encouragement will probably be frustrated, and thus of laying a foundation (if you should succeed) of the most permanent and extensive good."[1]

A meeting was held in May, 1819 at which Mr. W. H. Pearce read this address in the presence of the Rev. D. Corrie, among others.[2]

The sympathy aroused by the abject condition of the women of India resulted in the formation of the Calcutta Juvenile Society.[3] "It is not surprising" wrote the author of the

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1. J. Hobey: Life of W. H. Pearce; p.401-2

2. Mr. Corrie's presence at this meeting was an excellent illustration of the good relations that existed among the different missionary societies in the sphere of female education and probably misled Bishop Hebu into believing that female education in India originated with the Episcopalian Mission.

3. J. Hobey: Memoirs of W. H. Pearce; P.401
Second Report of Calcutta School Book Society App.No.XVII p.88. Quoting W. H. Pearce's letter dated Aug. 29th 1819 (the name of the Society seems to have been confused).
Church Missionary Record, January, 1824; p.44.
P. C. Mitra; Life of David Hare; p.55
Appeal of Society for Promotion of Female Education in Calcutta E p.10.

(Footnote 3 continued on next page)

History of Calcutta Institutions, "that this tremendous sacrifice of human life should have excited their sympathy in the dreadful picture of misery exhibited to their imaginations". No doubt the objects of the Society were "unexceptionable and praiseworthy" and the sufferings of Indian women were real. But the whole picture was grossly exaggerated and constituted "one of the most preposterous misrepresentations that ever proceeded from credulity or ignorance."[1a] Even though a Government enquiry later revealed the figures to be false, the Europeans at the time believed the statement to be literally true. In fact such exaggeration was characteristic of a great deal of missionary work almost to the end of our period,[2a] and rarely was the wisdom of such a course questioned.[3a] No doubt there was some advantage in rousing the evangelical fervour of ladies and gentlemen as probably larger collections of money were forthcoming when hearts were warm and the eyes moist. In all probability they were not consciously exaggerating. In their strength lay also their weakness. Faith and piety supplied the driving force which enabled them to venture thousands of miles from home to undertake the

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Footnote 3 continued from previous page:

3.(contd.) Calcutta Christian Intelligencer; Vol.I Dec.1832; p.361

1a. C. Lushington: The History of Calcutta Institutions.

2a. A. Swan: Seed Time and Harvest; p.99

3a. Calcutta Christian Observer; March 1840; p.120, Article by Dr. Thomas Smith.

evangelisation of non-Christians. Their faith at the same time, blinded them to a juster appreciation of a different civilisation. Admittedly there was much that needed radical reforming; but the inability of the missionaries to understand the position of women in Indian society led them into passing sweeping judgments based upon superficial observation. Themselves men of little education and narrow outlook, it was difficult for them to observe restraint in speech and writing.[1] Their utterances sometimes angered even the Christian converts and were largely responsible for turning away respectable Hindus and Moslems from co-operating with the missionaries in their laudable projects for the improvement of the conditions of Indian women. To say this, however, is not in any way to detract from the courage, determination and vigour which they displayed in prosecuting their schemes almost single-handed. It must also be remembered that the anthropological approach to the understanding of a different culture is of very recent origin and modern standards cannot fairly be applied to that period.

The first year of the Calcutta Juvenile School Society's existence proved a difficult one and despite valiant efforts,

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1. Notice the bad English used in the "Address" by The Rev. W. H. Pearce. This is characteristic of missionary documents, as many of them had received very meagre education.

the number of pupils did not rise above eight.[1] Soon afterwards Miss Bryant, in connection with whose seminary this Society had been formed, married and abandoned the work. The schools were temporarily closed but later re-opened under the supervision of Mrs. Pearce and Mrs. Lawson. At the same time its name was changed to Female School Society.[2] The Baptist Missionary Society transferred most of its work in female education together with the funds received from England for that purpose to this body. In 1820 it opened three schools and the number of pupils increased. The work of the Society was carried on under the supervision of the corresponding secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society. It was to emphasize the denominational character of this auxiliary that shortly afterwards the name was changed to Baptist Female School Society.[3] Nevertheless it also collaborated with the Bengal Christian School Society.[4] The Society soon made considerable headway and the number of schools and pupils rapidly increased.[5]

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1. Church Missionary Register, January, 1824; p.44.
2. J. Hobey: Life of W. H. Pearce; p.405-6
3. Ibid.
4. Church Missionary Register, February, 1825; p.58
   Ibid; February, 1826; p.89.
5. J. Statham: Indian Recollections; p.60
   Missionary Intelligencer 1820-28, Vol.XI; p.88
   Calcutta Christian Observer, Vol.I, December, 1832; p.361
   Baptist Missionary Herald, April 1st 1867; p.49

Note: The number of schools and pupils given by various authorities varies. The confusion seems to be due to the fact that some were including only those under the strict management of one society, while others included those which were under joint management.

Encouraged by the example of the Baptists, other Missionary Societies also sought to form similar organisations to promote female education. Thus the London Missionary Society sent a donation of one thousand rupees to its Bengal Branch for the foundation of "a Female Education Society"[1] and the "Calcutta Female Juvenile Society for the Establishment and support of Native Female Schools" was duly born. It must be remembered that the educational work of these Societies was of a strictly sectarian character. Their primary aim was conversion and instruction was imparted either to gain access to their souls or to reinforce conviction.

There were some missionaries who deplored the wastage of effort involved in having separate Female Education Societies in connection with each church. They advocated the "formation of a Society among the various denominations of Christians .... to concentrate into one channel the divided efforts ..... in the same cause." This resulted in the foundation of the "Bengal Christian School Society". The Female Education Society of the London Missionary Society (the "Calcutta Female Juvenile Society) changed its name in accordance with the ideals of the new Society to the more modest appellation of

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1. London Missionary Society Records: Box No.1, Folder No.3, Jacket D, Letter of H. Townley; dated Chinsurah, April 30th 1821.

the "Female Branch of the Bengal Christian School Society."[1] However interdenominational co-operation, even in India, had not reached so advanced a stage. The Bengal Christian School Society never became very important and had to be dissolved a few years later into its constituent elements.[2] Pecuniary and other difficulties proved unsurmountable, and it was agreed that female education could best be promoted on sectarian lines.

There were also other societies established at the same time and even a little earlier, which were distinguished from the above organisations by their rigid adherence to the principle of religious neutrality. They supposed that the spread of true knowledge would automatically result in undermining false religions and hence there was no need to undertake direct proselytising activities in schools. The aims of these Societies were sufficiently broad to include people of widely divergent views; missionaries, Indians and Europeans, officials and non-officials, could all be brought in in one organisation to promote an end already agreed upon.

The first of these secular societies was the "Calcutta School Book Society" founded with the object of publishing

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1. London Missionary Society Records: Box No.1, Folder No.4, Jacket E; Letter of F. Warden, dated Calcutta, Nov.6th 1823.

2. London Missionary Society Records: Box No.2, Folder No.4, Jacket A; North India Bengal 1828, First Report of Native Female School Society; p.1.

suitable text-books of a non-religious character for use in schools. Clause III of its constitution justified the principle of religious neutrality in these terms: "Before we can reasonably hope that the Hindus will be converted unto Christ, it is necessary that they should be capable of understanding the literal meaning, at least, of what the missionary preaches to them ..... it is also requisite (though not indispensable) that they should be able to read and understand the Holy Scriptures, and tracts explanatory of the facts, doctrines and precepts contained therein. It is also reasonable to suppose that, before the Hindus will be "delivered from the power of darkness and translated into the kingdom of Lord Jesus" those chains will be somewhat slackened by which Satan has bound them fast. Now all these objects are most effectually promoted by the labours of this society. By providing all the materials which are requisite for the instruction of the native population, it at once facilitates greatly the establishment of schools (for it is a fact, that before the formation of this Society, many respectable individuals had been compelled to relinquish their plans for the establishing of Native Schools solely from the deficiency of suitable elementary books; and many Bengali schools under the superintendence of Europeans, were at a stand from want of this essential article); and it makes these schools much more efficient than

they would otherwise be, by introducing into them, through the instrumentality of its publications, a judicious system of instruction ..... Moreover, as the publications of this Society will lead the Hindus to cultivate their mental faculties and to exercise their judgment, and diffuse among them sound notions on astronomy, geography, history, natural philosophy, psychology, morality, logic etc., they cannot but secretly and gradually, yet effectually undermine the fabric of the present system of Hindu idolatory, whose chief prop is a complete renunciation of the use of their own understanding, on the part of the generality of the Hindus - a servile submission to a set of self-interested deceivers ..... The more, therefore, true knowledge is diffused among the natives of India, and the more they are taught to make good use of their own reason, the more they will be prepared to forsake the false system of religion to which they are respectively devoted, and to embrace that doctrine which, as it is the only true one, is alone able to guide men unto everlasting life."[1]

No wonder then that men, who were very different otherwise, saw no objection in joining this Society. The passage quoted above savours of the ideas of rationalism and Deism of the Age of Reason that was not long dead. But by pointing out the

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1. Asiatic Observer, Volume I, 1823; p.154
Reports of the Calcutta School Book Society, 1819-1830.

need for a personal interpretation and understanding of the Scriptures, characteristic of Protestantism, it placated the missionaries. It also seems to anticipate the rise of the Utilitarians with their belief in Encyclopaedias of Universal Knowledge, and Societies for the diffusion of Useful Knowledge without offending the Indians whose ideal was to return to purer forms of their own religions.

The proportion of European to Indian members of the committee was fixed at three to one. Presumably this was a reflection of the prestige of the Europeans and their more intimate knowledge of the Western system of instruction.

A few months later (September, 1818) the Calcutta School Society was established with a similar constitution to start new schools in which the text-books published by the former Society would be used. In November, 1818 a branch society was opened at Dacca and another at Moorshedabad in June, 1819.[1] Similar Societies were established in Madras[2] and Bombay.[3]

These Societies were founded with the object of promoting "native education". They were primarily concerned with the education of boys, though they did not altogether neglect the girls. Thus the Calcutta School Book Society published two

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1. 2nd Report of the Calcutta School Book Society; p.26
2. 3rd " " " " " " " App.III, p.54.
3. Ibid: App.IV, p.67.

books on female education - one by the famous Raja Radha Kant Deb and another by Gour Mohan Pundit. Both purported to show from evidence collected from old books that female education had been customary among higher caste Hindus and that there had been in the past Hindu women who were celebrated for their learning. They drew the conclusion that female education "if encouraged will be productive of most beneficial results".[1]

The Calcutta School Society in its first Report contemplated the extension of the benefits of education to girls and adults.[2] At the next annual meeting of the Society held on 2nd May, 1821, Mr. Keith made some remarks on the importance of female education. The chief Justice of the Supreme Court in his reply said that he had "the gratification to know that some natives were to be found of the highest respectability, who were giving their attention to the subject; and in some instances privately endeavouring in their circles to give effect to these designs for the instruction of their females".[3] The Society's investigation into the state of education revealed that no Hindu girls were under instruction.[4] On the initiative

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1. Missionary Intelligence Vol.X; p.50
   P. C. Mitra: Life of David Hare; p.55.
   S. C. Mitra: Life of I. C. Vidyasagar; p.223
   Calcutta Review, Vol.XXV; p.64
2. Calcutta School Society; First Report App. No.11; quoted in P. C. Mitra: Life of David Hare; p.52.
3. Ibid.
4. Indian Female Evangelist; Vol.I; p.60.

of Raja Radha Kant Deb, the Society opened the doors of the Pathshalas to boys and girls alike.[1] It also examined and awarded prizes to the girls of the Calcutta Juvenile Society's Schools.[2] Thus even though the Society was preoccupied with boys' education it did something to encourage the education of girls.

But its greatest contribution to the cause of female education lay in being instrumental in bringing out from England the first unmarried female teacher, even though on her arrival in India, the Society refused to support her. The different accounts of the events that led up to this situation vary considerably. It is to clarify the matter that these facts are described here in some detail.

Mr. Ward the Baptist Missionary was on a visit to England in 1820 to draw the attention of the British public to the deplorable condition of Indian women and in particular to the practice of Sati.[3] He was joined there by Mr. J. H. Harrington,[4] who in Calcutta had been a member of the School

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1. Siva Nath Sastri: Life of Ram Tanu Lahiri; p.117

2. P. C. Mitra: Life of David Hare.

3. Church Missionary Register, June, 1825; p.244-45.

4. J. H. Harrington arrived in India as writer 1786; 1811 Chief Judge, Suddur Dewani and Nizamut Adawlut. Prominent member of Calcutta School Book Society, chairman and founder of Calcutta School Society. Retired and went home in 1819. Appointed the agent of the Calcutta School Society in England. 1822 returned to India and appointed President of the Committee of Public Instruction and Member of the Supreme Council; 1828 senior member Board of Revenue. Agent to the Governor-General at Delhi. 1820 retired a

(Footnote 4 continued on next page)

Society. The British and Foreign School Society then became interested in the subject and raised a fund to send a qualified woman to India "to superintend a school for training Native Female Teachers."[1a] Mr. Harrington, Mr. Ward and Mr. Millar the assistant Secretary of the British and Foreign School Society, between them seem to have arranged for the departure of Miss Cooke to India. On her arrival in India she found that the Calcutta School Society was unwilling to employ her The British and Foreign School Society expressed their disappointment and hoped that she might still "be engaged to teach the natives on some general grounds, so as not to interfere with their religious prejudices."[2a]

There were several reasons for this action taken by the Calcutta School Society. Though doubtless it had shown some interest in female education, it was far from being prepared to assume direct responsibility. It had not instructed Mr. Harrington to arrange for sending out a woman teacher. Mr. Harrington acted on his own initiative, thinking that such action on his part would be appreciated by the Calcutta Society.

Footnote 4 continued from previous page:

4. second time and died in England the same year. (See Lives of Bengal civilians. 1st Report of Calcutta School-Book Society; p.817-18, p.27; Ibid, 3rd Report P.28 and App.V, p.71; Committee of Public Instruction, 5th Report; p.22.

1a. Church Missionary Register, June, 1825; p.244-45.

2a. J. Hobey: Life of W. H. Pearce; p.405; Quoting the letter of Mr. Millar, Secretary, British and Foreign School Society, dated November, 5th 1822.

He does not seem to have been correctly informed even on the constitution of that body as he argued that should Miss Cooke fail to attract Indian girls, she could always be employed to teach the children of Europeans.[1] Little did he realise that the Calcutta School Society was only concerned with "native education". Hence it was under no obligation to employ her and European and Indian members of the Committee both concurred in declining her services. The Calcutta School Society had taken this decision even before Miss Cooke had sailed from England.[2] Their remarks on the subject, though rather clumsily phrased, seem to be just and to the point: "While, however, on the subject of female education, the Committee observe, that however earnestly they desire to see this neglected sex sharing in the benevolent attempts making for the instruction of the male population, yet, as members of an association, composed jointly of natives and Europeans, the former cannot be expected all at once to act upon the suggestions of the latter, however obviously desirable, when these militate against opposite sentiments which are of very long standing, and are only eradicated by the deliberate conviction and good sense of natives of intelligence and influence, on whom their intercourse with,

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1. J. H. Harrington's address to the British and Foreign School Society on May 20th 1820. See Appendix I

2. London Missionary Society: Box No.1, Folder No.4, Jacket B; Letter of J. Keith, dated Calcutta January 11th 1822.

and example of European Society, may gradually make an effectual impression. The attempts above cited to promote female education are highly approved of by the Committee, and everything of the kind deserves the utmost encouragement from the Society with whose views it is intimately associated; but the causes alluded to will suffice to show why the Committee did not think that the time had yet arrived for direct endeavours of the Society itself to establish Native Girls' Schools under female teachers."[1]

Had Harrington been in India, the Society might have adopted a bolder policy in opening schools under Miss Cooke's superintendence.[2] It is possible that he used his official prestige to influence the members of the committee. This pressure was withdrawn when he proceeded to England on leave preparatory to retirement and the members felt justified in taking the course which appeared to them most feasible. Harrington's return to India was quite unexpected; had the Banks not crashed and lost him his savings, he would have stayed in England.

The activities of the Reverend W. H. Pearce, who was the

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1. Quoted from the Second Report of the Calcutta School Society in Missionary Intelligence, Vol.VII, September, 1821; p.62.
2. W. H. Pearce: Memoirs; p.104. Letter of Mr. Millar, dated November 5th 1822 to W. H. Pearce, Secretary, Calcutta School Society.

Secretary of both the Baptist Female School Society and the Calcutta School Society, may have genuinely frightened some of the more orthodox Indian members of the latter body. Although a well-meaning man, his utterances were not always discreet[1] and the Indians might have genuinely feared that under his Secretaryship the new schools would not be run on a non-proselytising basis.[2]

The decisive factor, however, seems to have been the lack of money. The Society had only limited funds at its disposal and it seemed more reasonable to apply them to the education of boys, for which there was a growing demand, than to risk them in a venture of doubtful success.[3]

In the circumstances little could be done except to transfer Miss Cooke's services to some other body. The British and Foreign School Society refused the offer of a thousand rupees, presumably Miss Cooke's passage money, from the London Missionary Society as they wanted her to be employed in schools conducted on the basis of religious neutrality.[4]

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1. See p. 177.

2. Siva Nath Sastri: Life of Ram Tanu Lahiri; p.118

3. Church Missionary Society Report, 1822; p.163.
London Missionary Society Records: North India, Bengal, Box 1, Folder 3, Jacket C; Letter from the Rev. J. Millar, dated Calcutta, July 22nd 1820.
P. C. Mitra: Life of David Hare; p.56
The Zenana: March, 1901; p.72-73

4. Memoirs of W. H. Pearce; p.105.

But the Calcutta School Committee transferred her services to the Church Missionary Society without consulting the British and Foreign School Society.[1] When the latter heard of the arrangement, they hesitated to approve. They had raised money to conduct schools on a non-religious basis and were reluctant to adopt this course without giving the subscribers a chance to express their wishes. But the letters of Mr. Pearce and Miss Cooke dispelled all further hopes of carrying out the original plan.[2] There was no alternative but to agree to the proposal and they contented themselves by urging the Church Missionary Society and the Baptist Female Education Society to adopt a plan of instruction "so general as to exclude no child on the score of religion."[3] In return the Society promised financial support.

Miss Cooke opened her first school in dramatic circumstances.[4] A year later she was superintending five girls' schools in different parts of Calcutta containing about a hundred and twenty girls.[5] The schools soon became popular and

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1. J. Hobey: Life of W. H. Pearce; p.405.
2. Memoir: W. H. Pearce; p.105.
3. J. Hobey: Life of W. H. Pearce; p.405.
4. See Chapter IV; p. 285-6
   Church Missionary Society Report, 1822; p.108-9
5. Missionary Intelligencer Vol.XVI, December, 1823; p.59.

the number of pupils rapidly increased.[1] The success of Miss Cooke's (now Mrs. Wilson) work was shown at the annual examinations that were held not so much to test achievement as to demonstrate the prowess of the girls.[2] The examinations were in fact society functions at which the leading ladies and gentlemen of the city were invited to see for themselves the results of educational work among Indian children.[3] The ladies felt that the work had been successful and deserved their patronage.[4] An address had already been circulated among them soliciting their support for "the Church Missionary Society's Native Female Schools". Accordingly "a meeting of Ladies, friends to the education of the Female Natives of India" was held on March 25th 1824 under the Presidency of Lady Amherst at which it was resolved that female education was a worthy object deserving their fullest patronage. They recognised that the success of Mrs. Wilson's work had surpassed expectations and thought that further extension was only limited by the lack of funds. In

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1. J. Dennis: Christian Missions & Social Progress; Vol.III; p.11
   Church Missionary Society Report, 1823; p.IX.
   Church Missionary Register, January, 1824; p.42.
   Missionary Intelligencer; Vol.IX March 1822; p.3.
   Siva Nath Sastri: Life of Ram Tanu Lahiri; p.118.
2. Missionary Intelligencer; Vol.XVI, December, 1823; p.59.
3. See Chapter IV p. 270-1
4. J. Long: A Handbook of Bengal Missions; p.413.

order to collect money and to render the management of the institutions "more exclusively female" they decided to form themselves into "The Ladies' Society for Native Female Education in Calcutta and its vicinity". Wives of the highest Government officials, including Lady Amherst, figured among its members. Hence as a pre-condition to their taking over this work, they required the Church Missionary Society "to relinquish the entire management and direction of their female schools".[1] They could hardly have acted otherwise. They could not have compromised the position of their husbands who were pledged to observe strict religious neutrality. The church Missionary Society agreed to these conditions and transferred its schools to the care of the Calcutta Ladies' Society with the reservation that should the ladies ever decide to abandon the work, the schools and all other property would automatically revert to the parent Society. (This actually happened in 1858 when as a result of the financial difficulties the Calcutta Ladies' Society, it was amalgamated with the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society.)[2]

The Ladies entered upon their duties with characteristic energy and zeal. Within a few years thirty female schools

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1. See Appendix II.
Missionary Intelligencer, April 1824; p.7-8. See Appendix
Church Missionary Register, November 1824; p.509.

2. E. Stock: History of the Church Missionary Society, Vol.II p.164.
Also see Chapter VIII; p. 579-80

were open in which about four hundred and fifty girls were receiving instruction.[1] The initial success of the Society led to the expectation that its influence could, with advantage, be extended to Bombay and Madras as well by founding affiliated Societies in the two cities.[2]

Mrs. Wilson saw the advantages that accrued to the schools from the supervision exercised by the Ladies' Society. She thought that the work could be further extended if the co-operation of the European women, whose rank was not high enough to enable them to sit on the Ladies' Committee, were also secured. She therefore formed "The Ladies Association"[3] composed of "very respectable and generally pious persons in the middle dass of life" "to enlarge the work commenced by the Ladies' Society".[4] It opened two schools in addition to the thirty already opened by the earlier body. The members of the Committee were expected to undertake direct supervision of the schools, particularly those in their own localities.[5]

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1. 21st Report of the British and Foreign School Society; p.97
2. Church Missionary Register, March 1825; p.125.
   For more detailed information on the Church Missionary Society's earliest female schools in Madras see: Missionary Intelligencer, Vol.IX, March 1822; p.5; and Church Missionary Society Report 1822; p.131-32. These were transferred to a body similar to the Calcutta Ladies' Society on the same conditions, on May 16th 1829. (See Church Missionary Register March, 1830; pp.30; 157)
3. Church Missionary Register, October, 1825; p.480-81.
4. Ibid, April, 1826; p.205.
5. Ibid, October, 1825; p.480-81.

It seems curious that though these women recognised their humble origin they should still have insisted on calling their organisation the Ladies Association. It provides an interesting example of the rigidity of class distinctions in contemporary European Society.

Attention may also be drawn to two special features of these organisations. First it seems rather odd that a Missionary Society should consent to carry out at least one branch of its many activities on a non-proselytising basis. The explanation becomes clear when it is realised that the influential support of the Government officials and their wives could not be lightly ignored. In no circumstances would they as a body have co-operated with a proselytising organisation. If with their support true knowledge could be spread among the women of India, so the missionaries argued, there was the possibility of the latter realising the truth of the Gospel. In addition the Church of England had always given a high place to education and the Church Missionary Society, which was formed within it, inherited some of this tradition. The upper class officials and their wives, though they were not roused by the Evangelical Revival to the same extent, were nevertheless becoming more religiously minded.[1] This form of

1. A curious incident shows this very plainly. When the Cameronians offered to hand over the Profits of the Performances of Rob Roy and Honest Thieves, amounting to six hundred rupees, for the benefit of the European Female Orphan Asylum, the ladies refused to accept the money on the grounds that as they condemned the

(Footnote continued on next page).

organisation ensured that the official class and the Church Missionary Society could co-operate in the common object of promoting female education without either compromising its position.

Secondly these Ladies Societies and Associations provided "ladies", unburdened with housework and consequently possessing plenty of leisure, a useful outlet for their energies. Historically they represent one of the earliest attempts of British women to step outside the purely domestic sphere by forming organisations of their own to promote a definite object - a phenomenon which became common enough in the latter half of the nineteenth century. However, at the time, the novelty of these proceedings did not rouse the hostility of the unsuspecting dominant sex. The needs of Indian women were urgent and in the special circumstances of the country succour could be brought to them by women alone. Masculine supremacy was not threatened and neither sex could then foresee all the consequences. But it is reasonable to suppose that the success of their endeavours during this period of peaceful penetration gave the women valuable experience and self-confidence which stood them in good stead when later they came to challenge the male monopoly of education and hence of the professions. Thus the necessity for taking medical aid to

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Footnote continued from previous page:
theatre as unchristian, they did not feel justified in drawing upon the benefits of the proceeds.
Friend of India; May 11th 1837; p.147 and May 18th 1837; p.153.

the Indian women was successfully used by later Feminists to force the entry of women into medical colleges and schools in Britain that were shut against them. The origins of the Feminist Movement which transformed the position of women in British Society may therefore, with some justification, be traced to the early interest that they evinced in promoting the education of Indian women. Amelioration of the conditions of women in the Empire was a powerful weapon which British women used with considerable success to win fresh rights and privileges for themselves from socially Conservative but patriotic Victorians.[1]

Another instance of the connection between female schools in India and the growth of the Feminist Movement is provided by the fact that some of the earliest women's Societies in Britain were those formed with the object of collecting funds for the support of these schools.[2]

Mrs. Wilson early realised the importance of securing the co-operation of women in Britain in aid of her schools.[3] She therefore sought the help of missionary periodicals to give

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1. See Chapter VII; p. 506-10

2. The rest of this chapter contains further evidence of the connection between the Feminist Movement and Schemes for Promoting female education in India. The connection was close and continuous.

3. Church Missionary Register, August 1823; p.359.

the widest publicity to her school-work. She urged the Church Missionary Society to seek "the patronage of the King and Royal Family, particularly the Female Branches" in promoting Indian female education. Further, British schools were asked to collect money for schools in India.

Mrs. Wilson's suggestions resulted in the institution of an "India Female Education Fund" in England in aid of the Calcutta Ladies' Society. It was expected that with its financial assistance similar bodies could be established at other Presidencies.[1] The Church Missionary Society recognised the Fund and delivered its contribution of £500 for female schools in India.[2] But Mrs. Wilson was not satisfied and urged the formation of a "Ladies Society" on the Calcutta model in aid of her schools.[3]

For three years nothing came of the proposal but Mrs. Wilson remained undaunted. She issued a fresh appeal to "the Ladies of Great Britain" on May 10th 1828 in which she urged the instant formation of Local Ladies' Committees in England to arrange for and finance the departure of suitable women teachers to India. She ended the appeal by saying that "a Ladies Society ..... in London, ... might be the means of forwarding the above mentioned plans; and

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1. Church Missionary Register, March, 1825; p.125.
2. Ibid, April, 1825; p.192.
3. Ibid, 1825; p.325.

also for establishing Ladies' Societies ..... in Madras and Bombay which in consequence of the very fluctuating state of Society in India, are never likely to emanate from Bengal."[1]

This appeal fell on more fruitful soil. Mrs. Heber, the wife of the Bishop, who had taken the leading part in opening the "India Female Education Fund", took upon herself the foundation of a Ladies' Society in England under the patronage of the Duchess of Beaufort to aid the Calcutta Society.[2] She circulated an Address and her efforts resulted in the formation of "the Ladies East-India-Female-Education Society."[3]

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1. Church Missionary Register, February, 1829; p.76.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, September, 1829; p.392.

Extract from the Circular: "several benevolent persons, who take an interest in the cause of Native Female Exucation in India, and wish to facilitate the extension of a system now acted upon in Calcutta and some of the adjoining stations, are anxious to establish a private channel, for transmitting their subscriptions in money and fancy work to that country.

"It is therefore proposed that a Society be formed in England 'in aid of the Calcutta Ladies' Society' for the purpose of receiving contributions, which Mrs. Heber will undertake to forward to Calcutta.

"The following Ladies have kindly promised to receive collections in their respective neighbourhoods; and it is earnestly hoped that their example will be followed by those who desire to see the blessings of Education diffused among the Heathen."

The Lady H. Drummond, 11 Belgrave Square. The Lady E. Penant, Standish, Strand. Mrs. John Thornton, Clapham Terrace.

(Footnote 3 continued on next page)

The Society soon collected over £180 but it advanced the greater part of this sum to Miss Chatfield, "Who was very desirous of proceeding under the Society's patronage, to the assistance of Mrs. Wilson in Calcutta". She was to repay two-thirds of the money by monthly instalments. The society also arranged for Miss Chatfield to accompany Mrs. Corrie who was returning to India. It also sent a remittance to the Calcutta Ladies' Society.[1a] It was particularly careful with the money and reminded Miss Chatfield, after her arrival in India in December, 1829, to repay part of the sum advanced to her. She was further warned that "she should not under any circumstances, become burdensome to the Societies at home or in India."[2a] It seems that she was among the very few who fulfilled the conditions laid down by Mrs. Wilson for female teachers going to India.[3a]

Footnote 3 continued from previous page:

Miss Farrer, 7 John Street, Berkely Square.
Miss Farrer, 66 Lincoln's Inn Fields.
Miss Gason, 68 Lincoln's Inn Fields.
Mrs. T. Farrer, Hampstead.
Miss Hutchinson, Harrogate.

Patronness
Her Grace the Duchess of Beaufort.

Treasurer: Mrs. Heber. Secretary: Miss Webb, 35 Queen Anne Street.

1. Church Missionary Register, September, 1829; p.392.
2a. Ibid, June 1830; p.247.
3a. See Chapter VIII; p.548

This English Society did some good work in a quiet unobtrusive manner remaining a relatively small and limited organisation. But conditions were developing which were to bring women into more active public life. The stirring of Social conscience which followed the French Revolution, the Evangelical Revival which gathered new strength on the termination of the Napoleonic Wars, the compassion aroused by the stories of slave trade,[1] suttee and infanticide; the increasing knowledge of remote lands; and the enlarging liberty of middle-class women all combined to produce a state of Society in which women would be ready to respond to a missionary call.[2] It remained for somebody to give the required lead.

The opportunity came when David Abeel, an American missionary, returning from China, delivered an address at a meeting held on July 25th 1834 in St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, under the Presidency of "the Honourable and the Reverend B. W. Noel". He described in moving terms the deplorable condition of "the females of China and the neighbouring countries". The President also put in a moving plea for the suffering women. The meeting unanimously resolved to form a "Society for Promoting Female Education in China and the Adjacent Countries" with the triple object of establishing female schools,

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1. The Cambridge Modern History, Vol.X; p.658.
2. Ibid, Vol. XII; p.761-62.

sending out European women teachers and training native female teachers.[1] A strong Ladies' Committee was formed with the Duchess of Beaufort as President. Since some of the office bearers in this Society were also responsible for running the Ladies' East India Female Education Society[2] they appreciated the fact that to continue both societies would entail unnecessary duplication of work. They also pointed out that India as a member of the British Empire had prior claim on the generosity of British women. Besides, India presented an open field, whilst in China regulations against missionary work were only being slowly relaxed.[3] The validity of these arguments was fully recognised and the two societies were amalgamated. India was included within the sphere of activity of the new Society which was given the rather cumbersome title of "the Society for Promoting Female Education in India, China and the Adjacent Countries".[4] The name was changed once again to "the Society for Promoting Female Education in China, India and the East"[5] before the final adoption of the more reasonable title of "the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East".[6]

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1. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Minutes Book; Vol.I; p.1.
2. Ibid No.5. (e.g. Duchess of Beaufort, Mrs. Heber).
3. By the Charter Act of 1813. M. Wylie: Bengal as a Field of Missions; p.24.
4. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Minutes Book; Vol.I; No.8.
5. Ibid; No.20.
6. Ibid; April, 1838; No.543.

This Society bore the same relation to the Church Missionary Society in England as the Calcutta Ladies' Society did to the Church Missionary Society in Bengal. Though formed by and composed of the members of the Church of England, it was independent of the Church Missionary Society which could not directly influence its conduct of policy. The Society confined Christian instruction to "an acquaintance with Scriptural truth, and to a belief in Christ as our Saviour". This definition was broad enough to secure the co-operation of even the Roman Catholics and the Unitarians. But this was not sought and their support was rejected by framing "the questionnaires" so as to exclude them.[1] But it co-operated with other Protestant Sects in exchanging help and advice without any sectarian jealousies. It was no mean achievement considering the acute religious differences that existed among the Protestant denominations at this period.[2]

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1. See Chapter VIII; p. 551-2 Also Appendix XI

2. The career of the Hon. B. W. Noel, who was one of the founders of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East and who took an active interest in its affairs issuing several appeals on its behalf, best illustrates the type of person who could secure this co-operation for a particular object. Though holding strong personal views on Church and State, he did not let this prevent co-operation with those who were pursuing similar objects.

"Baptist Wriothesley Noel 1798-1873 divine, born at Leighmount, Scotland on July 16th 1798 was the sixteenth child and eleventh son Sir Gerald Noel-Noel, bart, ...Educated at Westminster school and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was created M.A. in 1821 ..... in 1827 became a minister of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, London. The Chapel was unconsecrated, but its pulpit had been filled for many years by a

(Footnote 2 continued on next page)

This collaboration was both close and extensive. Thus this Society wrote to the Calcutta Baptist Female School Society to enlist "their aid and experience" instead of regarding them as a rival body. It solicited similar co-operation from the Female Education Society of the London Missionary Society and also from the Calcutta Native Female School Society.[1a] It gratefully acknowledged "the liberality shown by the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Religious Tract Society in their supply of books for their agents". It also thanked "the British and Foreign School Society and the Home and Colonial Infant School Society for the instruction afforded to them in their respective systems of education,

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Footnote 2 continued from previous page:

succession of able men. Thomas Scott, Richard Cecil, and Daniel Wilson had been its ministers; the Thorntons, William Wilberforce and Zachary Macaulay members of the Congregation. Despite his comparative youth for a charge so conspicuous, Noel was an immediate and marked success, and he was speedily recognised as a leader among evangelical churchmen in London. ..... Home and Foreign Missions equally enjoyed his aid. ..... In 1840 he conducted an enquiry under the direction of the Committee of Education into the condition of elementary schools in Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool and other towns. ..... In 1846 he visited some of the stations of the Evangelical Society in France, and in the same year helped to set on foot the Evangelical Alliance. His intimate relations with evangelical nonconformity make less surprising the step which Noel took in 1848. The result of the Gorham case, which drove some high churchmen into the fold of Rome, helped to send Noel into the ranks of the Baptists..... As a nonconformist, despite his strong views as to church and state, Noel refrained from joining the Liberation Society or appearing on its platform ..... Died Stanmore, Middlesex on 19th January, 1873." (Dictionary of National Biography Vol.XLI p.89)

1a. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Minutes Book, Vol.I; Nos. 27, 33,44 respectively.

and to the former for its liberal grant of school materials."[1]

In return the Society for Promoting Female Education rendered invaluable services to the common cause. It gave a donation of £50 to an English woman conducting schools in Malacca[2] and a year later sent out a female teacher to take charge of the work there.[3] It gave £25 each to the Calcutta Baptist Female School Society and the India Missions of the Church of Scotland.[4] It promised to pay for the passage and outfit of female teachers on the condition that the Scottish Ladies' Society guaranteed their maintenance in India.[5] It advanced loans to individuals or Societies for immediate needs. It paid for the upkeep of a number of girls at boarding schools in India. It gave publicity to the need for educational work among the women of India and drew the attention of British women to the subject. By its example, it roused the conscience of some of the European women in India who had the leisure but not the incentive to undertake this responsibility.[6]

But above all it was responsible for selecting, training and sending out suitable women teachers to India. It discharged

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1. Annual Report of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East, 1840; p.6.

2. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Minutes Book, Vol.I; Nos. 10 and 16.

3. Ibid; Nos. 64 and 100.

4. Ibid; Nos. 201 and 324.

5. Scottish Ladies' Society Minutes Book, October 11th 1841. Also Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Minutes Book, Vol.II; Nos.3088 and 3089.

6. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Report 1855 p.11

this function with admirable speed, thoroughness and caution. Thus when the Baptists asked for an agent to be sent out quickly, the Committee refused to comply with the request as it could not be responsible for the suitability of a candidate who had not gone through the usual probation. But it agreed to make a financial grant to the Baptists which would enable them to bring out a female teacher from England.[1] In fact most Female Education Societies sought its help and advice in the selection of suitable female teachers for Indian Schools.[2] So high was the reputation enjoyed by this Society that the Scottish Ladies' Society put greater faith in its judgment than in that of its own missionaries and agents. Thus the Scottish Ladies' Society though sometimes rejecting candidates recommended by the latter, never turned down one recommended by the London Society.[3] The selection and training of suitable female teachers was its most important function and was discharged with great tact and ability.[4]

An important difference between the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East and other similar societies emerges from the above analysis of the former's activities. The

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1. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Minutes Book, Vol.I June 16th 1837; No.444.
2. For Method of Selection and training please see Chapter VIII p. 550-7
3. Scottish Ladies' Society Minutes Book October, 11th 1841.
4. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Annual Report, 1855; p.11.

The Society for Promoting Female Education in the East opened no girls' schools in India. Instead, it chose to aid and foster only those which could rely upon private resources for their maintenance. It refused to send out agents directly in its own name and generally insisted that "local or other resources should be available for their permanent support."[1] No doubt the Society inherited this policy from its predecessor, the Ladies East India Female Education Society,[2] but considerably extended its application and scope. This anticipated the Government's Grants-in-aid system by many years and was preferable to the latter in its scope and flexibility.

Results fully vindicated adoption of this policy. The need was not so much for the establishment of new institutions as for continuing those which had already been opened with little thought to staffing and equipment and which, but for the help given by this Society, would have had to be closed. By this means the limited funds at its disposal went "so much further".[3] They could allocate money and teachers more equitably among the different Sects that were engaged in promoting female education. A different policy might have given rise to the complaint that the Society was primarily a Church of England body in practice, giving only nominal help to others. By

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1. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Annual Report 1836; p.2. Ibid, 1837; p.5.
2. See this Chapter p. 201-2.
3. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Minutes Book, Vol.I; Nos.305,210,221,235,257.

pursuing this wise policy it not only preserved impartiality but best promoted the cause of women's education by placing its expert advice, specialised knowledge and financial aid at the disposal of all alike.

This unwillingness to assume direct responsibility for any girl's schools in India did not arise out of lack of enthusiasm. It was merely a question of expediency as to how the limited resources of the Society could be used to the best advantage. This is shown by the characteristic keenness and zeal with which the Society set out to evolve an effective organisation commensurate with the task in view. The objects of the Society could only be given the most effective and widest publicity by establishing branches all over the country. The lead was given by Brighton where an Auxiliary was formed in 1835.[1] Liverpool, Bishop's Stortford and Hackney followed suit[2] until most bigger towns had a branch of the London Society. The primary function of these auxiliaries was to collect money for the work of the parent Society and to disseminate information about the latter's aims and objects. Through these auxiliaries, the interest of women in different parts of Britain was effectively marshalled for the promotion of female education in India.

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1. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Annual Report, 1835.
2. Ibid, 1836; p.3.

As the work of the London Society expanded both in England and India, the need for a paid staff became greater. To begin with an Assitant Secretary was appointed at £40 per annum.[1] A couple of years later her salary was doubled[2] but it became increasingly apparent that honorary supporters could not cope with the work. It was decided to appoint a full-time paid secretary, in addition to the two honorary secretaries, with "power to summon the Committee and to conduct business ..... a voice in the deliberations, all letters of importance by her being subject to revision of the Committee." The salary of the new secretary was fixed at £150 per annum and Miss Briggs of Edinburgh was appointed to the post. The services of the former assistant secretary were terminated as two paid secretaries were not required.[3] The three secretaries were so to say the chief executive officers of the Society. Miss Webb, one of the honorary secretaries, particularly exercised an important influence over the affairs of the Society throughout the period of its existence.[4]

Another important aspect was the management of the Society's finances for which its Treasurer was chiefly responsible. The Ladies at first seem to have felt quite competent

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1. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Minutes Book, Vol.I; Nos. 273,293.
2. Ibid; 507.
3. Ibid; No.965.
4. Eugene Stock in the Zenana; March 1901; p.73.

to manage their financial affairs and when Mrs. Bridges resigned the treasurership, a Mrs. B. Shaw was invited to take her place.[1] But on second thoughts it appeared "exceedingly desirable that the financial concerns of the Society should be placed under the management of a gentleman and a man of business". Accordingly the resolution inviting Mrs. Shaw to be treasurer was rescinded and John Labouchère was "requested to accept the office, Miss Pratt's name being printed as sub-Treasurer."[2] Apparently the Ladies had as yet little confidence in their capacity as business-women and felt safer in entrusting their funds to a man of position in the business world. It is also interesting that a Labouchere[3] should have been chosen in this capacity. Indeed he must have possessed some of the radical sympathies which became pronounced enough in his son for "the ladies" to invite him to take up this position. Possibly it was also under his influence that the ladies adopted secret-ballot as the method of election to the Membership of the Committee.[4]

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1. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Minutes Book, Vol.I; No.626.

2. Ibid, Vol.I; No.635.

3. John Labouchere: Banker and businessman. Brother of Henry Labouchere created Lord Taunton and father of the famous Henry Du Pré Labouchere (Dictionary of National Biography, Vol.XXXI p.368 and 1912-21 Vol. p.316.)

4. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Minutes Book, Vol.II; No.2630.

There was more than mere coincidence in the connection between the women's Society and radical movements in England.[1]

The funds of the Society were thus put in capable hands. Member's subscriptions, periodically remitted by the auxiliaries to the London Society, no doubt formed the chief source of income. But the "ladies" invented new methods to augment the resources of the Society. Private and Public meetings were arranged in drawing rooms and large halls at which the plight of Indian women was described in moving terms and collections were taken while the eyes were still moist and the heart warm. They encouraged the formation of regular "working parties" and the proceeds from the sale of their work were largely utilised in giving away prizes or founding scholarships for Indian girls. The headmistresses of girls' schools in England were requested to encourage their pupils to collect small sums of money. If the interest of the girls were maintained some of them might even choose to go to India as teachers later on. The Ellenborough House Association in connection with Cheltenham Ladies' College did particularly useful work. It even brought out a small amateur manuscript magazine containing original articles by members, extracts of letters from India and details of collections. The following extract from it shows how the Association

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1. See Chapter I; p. 67-8.

managed to create and maintain personal interest of the girls in so vague and distant an object as the promotion of female education in India: "The association is much interested in Karunna, a Native teacher, whose salary of £18 per annum they undertake to supply and they are able this year to forward besides this £8 10s. towards the building of a house for her school. They have her photograph and occasionally correspond with her". In some schools girls were given receipt books for circulation amongst friends.

The ladies also gave their whole-hearted support to Magazines and periodicals which took up the cause of Indian women and were always ready to supply them with information. The Quarterly Indian Female Evangelist did excellent work besides disseminating information about all aspects of an Indian Woman's life. Its branch offices in bigger towns organised sales, bazaars and working-parties. Its Birmingham branch alone had eighteen sub-branches which collectively made a substantial contribution to the general funds.[1] It was with these and various other devices that the Society continued to enlarge its funds to keep pace with the increasing demands that were being made on its resources.

Finance, however, was not the only serious problem that the ladies were called upon to tackle. They were faced with

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1. Indian Female Evangelist; Vol.III; p.29-31.

other difficulties. It was not easy to persuade suitable women to go to India as teachers. Even when they found such women and arranged for their departure, these did not remain for long in service in India. There were many missionaries who were willing to marry them and they did not miss the chance. The Society tried various means to solve the problem but never fully succeeded in doing so.[1]

Further, it was not always easy for the Society to distribute its resources to the satisfaction of all. The demands were many; the resources limited. There were serious disagreements although these were not frequent. How serious these could be and how strong a line the Society could take in such cases is apparent from the following extract:[2] The ladies "have listened with extreme surprise and unfeigned regret, to the remarks contained in Mrs. Chapman's letter, and to the resolutions of the Calcutta Committee which they consider as alike uncalled for, uncourteous, and ungrateful - that these resolutions (taken in connection with former ungracious reception of aid) being a virtual renunciation of all co-operation and sympathy between the two Committees, the Calcutta Committee be requested no longer to reckon upon the London Committee for

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1. For a fuller treatment of this problem of marriage, please see Chapter VIII, p. 543-9

2. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Minute Book, Vol.I, Number 631. This is reminiscent of some of the most extravagant language used by the Feminists later.

the selection and sending out of teachers for the Central School or for any other assistance, and that Mrs. Chevalier address a letter to Mrs. Chapman to this effect." Such strong action quickly brought the offending party to its senses and on their side the "Ladies" themselves were equally willing to forget and forgive.

It was in this spirit of firmness and tolerance that the Society exercised such a beneficial influence on the education of Indian women. For over three score years it helped to train and send out to India suitable women teachers. It gave expert advice on both major and minor matters of educational policy to all those who were interested in promoting the instruction of girls. It made generous contributions towards helping individuals and societies to tide over temporary financial difficulties and it shared the initial expenditure incurred in launching new projects whenever requested to do so. If it was reluctant to open any schools of its own, this was not due to any lack of enthusiasm but to a realisation that it could be more useful in promoting female education by these indirect means and in this way maintain its reputation for fairness and freedom from Sectarian dissemination.

Its period of usefulness, however, came to an end in 1900. "The venerable Secretary, Miss Webb," who had held that office since 1834, retired and the Society was dissolved. Its assets

and its work, according to a previous agreement, were mostly transferred to the Church Missionary Society.[1] Although the passing away of this broad-based organisation, with such a useful record of service, was to be regretted, it had fulfilled its function of doing pioneering work for the education of Indian women. The Sectarian Societies were now in a stronger position to stand on their own. The Government and the Indians were also convinced of the value of instructing girls and the responsibility now devolved upon them.[2]

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1. E. Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, Vol.IV, p.465. A record of work among women of the London Missionary Society.

2. See Chapter IV.

SECTION B

The Scottish Ladies Association

Scotland was not unaffected by the forces which gave greater scope to women's activities. Education had deeper roots in Scottish Protestantism than elsewhere. The Ladies' Section of the Northern Missionary Society founded in 1820 was the first Woman's Missionary Association in Scotland.[1] Most of the promoters were members of the Church of Scotland but as it was not directly connected with that church, the Scottish Ladies did not recognise in this Association the precursor of their more specific later organization.

Thus Scotland presented favourable ground and it only remained to sow the seed for it to germinate into a mighty tree. The Scots' greatest asset was their partiality for educational work both at home and abroad. The Scottish Ladies setting out to explore the field inherited this valuable tradition. As early as 1824 the Scottish Missionaries had opened schools in Bombay: they aroused much interest and excitement and Mr. Brown noted their establishment with satisfaction.[2] But they soon declined and their Missionary, Stevenson, sought

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1. Church of Scotland Records. (Historical Notes Collection)
2. Church of Scotland Records: Bombay Volume, p.84. Letter dated Edinburgh May 15th, 1827.

and obtained permission to settle in the villages instead. However, when James Mitchell adopted the same course, and confined himself to direct preaching only, he was severely reprimanded by the Directors for abandoning the schools without their permission.[1] They adhered to their original opinion that "the establishment of female schools is an object in which multitudes in this country feel a particular interest, and we have already received several contributions for this specific object which I doubt not will be greatly increased when we are able to state to the Christian public that you have fairly engaged in this department of missionary labour."[2] Nor were these merely empty words. The Accounts of the Concan Mission show that exactly the same amount of money was spent on the girls' schools as on the boys'.[3] Mr. and Mrs. Wilson (not the former Miss Cooke), who arrived in Bombay in 1829 as missionaries of the Scottish Church were both passionately interested in female education and gave it special attention. Mrs. Wilson opened girls' schools and undertook their superintendence.[4]

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1. Church of Scotland Records: Bombay Volume: Letter No.85, p.153. Dated Edinburgh January 1st, 1830.
2. Ibid. Bombay Volume. Letter No. 22, p.64. Personal letter from Mr. W. M. Brown to the Missionaries, dated Edinburgh September 5th, 1825.
3. Ibid. Bombay Volume, p.221. Letter to Mr. Stevenson from the Directors dated Edinburgh, December 1832. The Accounts of the Concan Mission, October 1829 - October 1830.
4. John Wilson: Memoirs of Margaret Wilson, p.235, 334, 481

Her husband drew up detailed reports on the state of female education and sent them home to arouse the interest of Scottish women in the subject.[1] The couple did not falter in their efforts even when in 1833 the Directors, pressed by the need for economy, ordered the closing of all schools and restricted the total expenditure of their India Mission to £1200 per annum.[2] But unfortunately Mrs. Wilson died unexpectedly in 1835. Her last wish was that the girls' schools should be continued.[3]

This led Mr. Wilson to ask his two sisters-in-law to come to India[4]. They accepted the invitation and by 1837 arrangements for their departure were completed. The news of their plans, combined with the fact that a lady had sold her jewels to help them, caused much excitement in Church circles as it was no light undertaking in those days for two young unmarried women to travel alone to India.[5] To many it must have appeared, not only an extremely absurd proceeding, but also one that showed a great disregard of the proprieties shielding the

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1. Female Education in India Associations, Minutes Book, Edinburgh, March 8th, 1837.
2. Church of Scotland Records: Bombay Volume, Letter No.128, p.227 from the Directors, dated Edinburgh, March, 1833
3. Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland, No. XI, March 1839, p.176.
4. G. Smith: Life of John Wilson, p.263-65. Quoting John Wilson's letter to Misses Bayne, dated September 1836 in which he wrote, "The Assembly's Committee, I doubt not, would give you any encouragement you might desire... I have been forming a private fund for female education from the profits of our publications, which are of course my own; from the proceeds of some jewels presented by a lady in aid of it, and

(Continued)

womanhood of the day. It was characteristic of the contemporary ideas of feminine modesty that Anna Bayne made Dr. Wilson promise never to mention her work in India, either in letters or in public reports.[1]

To one man, however, the excitement caused by the departure of the Bayne sisters appeared as a heaven-sent opportunity. Captain John Sinclair Jameson, a member of a well-known Scottish family was on furlough from India. He had been touched by the condition of Indian women and thought that the only hope of improvement lay in their education. He sought to rouse the women of the Church of Scotland to form an association to help Indian women. At first the response was not very encouraging and he was unsuccessful in his attempt to send another woman to accompany the Bayne sisters. However, he took advantage of this appropriate moment. He called a

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(Footnote continued from previous page): to be employed by me, without any notice being taken of the matter, for procuring me personal aid in the schools; and for sums given me for my unquestioned disposal either private or public. I shall, I doubt not, have 200 guineas to pay your passage to India."
5. Female Education in India Association's Minutes Book, dated Edinburgh, March 8th, 1837. Also Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland, No. XI, March, 1839, p.176.

1. G. Smith, Life of John Wilson, p.297 quoting the letter of John Wilson to Dr. Brunton dated Bombay, December 1841 in which he wrote, "It was her request, when she came to India, that no mention should be made of her endeavours and exertions in any public report or letter."

meeting of those interested in Indian Women on the 8th March, 1837 and out of this emerged "the Edinburgh Ladies' Association for the Advancement of Female Education in India, under the Superintendence of the Missionaries of the Church of Scotland."[1]

The Association flourished. The original Ladies' Committee of fifteen was enlarged to thirty-four in 1839, when the first printed Report of the Association was also issued. Captain Jameson toured Scotland, forming Auxiliary Associations in different places. Because of his efforts, the Association acquired widespread popularity. This necessitated a change in name and from now on it was called the "Scottish Ladies' Association for the Advancement of Female Education in India under the superintendence of the Missionaries of the Church of Scotland." [2] Rules, largely on the model of those of the London Society, were carefully drawn up for conducting the business of the Association. All subscribers of five shillings and upwards became members of the Association, but the seven

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1. Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland, No. XI, March 1839, p.176. Female Education in India Association's Minute Book, Nov.8, 1837

2. Scottish Ladies' Association Report, 1840, p.10-11. Missionary Record Church of Scotland, Vol.XI, March 1839, p.176. First Auxiliary Association was formed in Dundee as early as May, 1837.

Presidents[1], the Committee[2], the two Secretaries[3] and the Treasurer[4] constituted the chief executive body of the Association. This General Committee met twice a year in May and November. During the intervals an acting sub-committee of eight met as often as required to transact routine business. There was the Annual General Meeting, a formal affair at which addresses were delivered and the report for the past year was presented for adoption.[5]

An examination of the list of office-bearers shows the strong and deep-seated prejudice against women taking an important or initial part in the work of the Church. They

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1. Report of the Scottish Ladies' Association: 1840 The Reverend Doctors Brunton, Gordon and Muir and the Reverends John Hunter, John Bruce, R. S. Candlish, A. Moody.

2. Ibid. The Hon. Mrs. Mackenzie, Lady Maxwell of Calderwood, Lady Colquhoun of Luss, Mrs. Rory, Mrs. Dr. Easton, Mrs. Dr. J. A. Maxwell, Mrs. Gunningham, Mrs. B. Bell, Mrs. Archibald Bonar, Mrs. Shank More, Mrs. Macfarlane, Mrs. Mercer, Mrs. Warren, Mrs. Horne, Mrs. Anstruther, Misses Hunter, Abercrombie, Robertson, Davidson, Bruce, Stevenson, Ferguson, Stormonth, Bayne, Moody, Bonar, MaCallum, Diron, Campbell, Hunter Blair, M. Pringle, Whyatt, M. Rattray, M. S. Buchanan.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. Mr. Archibald Bonar, manager of the Edinburgh and Leith Bank.

5. Ibid. For full Rules see Appendix. V

served on the Committees but the executive officers of the Association, the Presidents, the Secretaries and the Treasurer, were all men. Many years were to pass before women began to speak at small meetings and to lead in prayer.[1] But women soon came to preside at the meetings of the Ladies' Sub-Committee. In the Minutes of November 11th, 1839, one Mrs. Roy is entered as Chairman. It seems likely that the Chairman was unavoidably absent and as the Secretary was the only other gentleman present, there was no alternative but to vote the lady into the Chair. The men Presidents do not seem to have found the meetings of the Sub-Committees important enough for them to attend and probably it came to have a woman President by their default. On January 31st, 1844, Mrs. Taylor was voted into the Chair and after that the members of the Sub-Committee seem to have taken the Chair regularly in rotation. But the Annual or Half-Yearly Meetings still continued to be presided over by men.[2] Many years were to elapse before a woman would be appointed as Secretary.[3]

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1. Church of Scotland Records: (Historical Notes Collection,p.4)

2. Female Education in India Association Minutes Book No. I.

3. Scottish Ladies Society of the Established Church of Scotland Minutes Book. April 18th, 1859

Indeed, Captain Jameson was quite emphatic on the point. In his opinion the Secretary "must not be a youth... and not on any account a lady."[1]

The composition of the General Committee is equally interesting. It included some of the most religiously-minded Society women of Scotland as well as the wives of the most successful professional men. The fact that nineteen of its members were unmarried indicated that even single women were being granted some standing in public life. This call of "the Heathen world" was one of the chief factors in drawing the women of the Victorian era into Public life through the work of the Church.[2]

This was probably one of the first essays of Scottish women into public life. Not only had they to struggle against male prejudice but they themselves were relatively inexperienced. Their work appears all the more remarkable considering that the Association was founded during the "Ten Years' Conflict" that preceded the disruption of the Church and that some

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1. A. Swan: Seed Time and Harvest, p.63 quoting from Captain Jameson's letter, "but remember he must not be a youth... yet one more remark I must make, and that is that your Secretary should be a gentleman, and not on any account a lady. Excuse me for saying so, but I give you the best advice I can for the good of the Association, and the interest and happiness of all concerned with it, both in Edinburgh and in the country generally, not that the Ladies of the Committee also should not do all in their power to promote its interests by an active and vigorous correspondence all over Scotland."
2. Church of Scotland Records: Historical Notes Collection.

leading missionaries were unsympathetic. The Evangelical movement was strong and Dr. Chalmers had successfully raised £50,000 in one year for the Church. Dr. Duff was touring Scotland, doing propaganda on behalf of Foreign Missionary work among the high caste men of India. They were hardly likely to encourage any scheme which might offer a rival attraction.[1] In fact some actually feared that this scheme might diminish the prosperity of the Assembly's Indian Mission by drawing away contributions from it. It was not until later that this fear was proved to be unfounded when it was shown that the Female Education Fund was a distinct addition to former contributions.

It must be acknowledged, however, that the fear of the growing activities of the Roman Catholics played considerable part in bridging internal differences and gave a great impetus to the movement. At the six-monthly meeting of the Ladies' Association in December, 1840, the Secretary noted the fact that 'the Roman Catholic Apostolic of India had sanctioned the

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1. G. Smith: Life of Wilson; p.93
Wilson's letter to Mr. J. Jordan Wilson dated Bombay, July 7th 1836: "Dr. Duff's advocacy of the Calcutta Institution has been far too exclusive. I rejoice in the Prosperity of the Seminary, I wish it every support; but he ought not to have advocated its cause by disparaging the direct preaching of Gospel to the natives in their own languages by the Europeans, and overlooked female education, and the general education of the natives through the medium of their own tongues, which form the readiest key to their hearts."

establishment of a nunnery of the Ursulan Order, for the education of female Hindus." It was further reported that Captain Jameson had sent interesting information on the cause of female education generally: he communicates the actual arrival at Madras of six nuns from Ireland.[1]

The Scottish ladies had, from the very beginning, to face problems which could not have been foreseen. The first few women they sent out to India either married or died soon after their arrival in the country.[2] In either case the Society lost their services through circumstances which were beyond its control, and clearly no blame could be attached to it. All the same this curious entry appeared in the Minutes Book: "The Committee felt themselves called upon to record their thankfulness that from the testimony of medical persons it had appeared that Miss Reid's decease was in no degree to be attributed to the climate of India."[3]

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1. Home and Foreign Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland, Vol. XIX, January 1st 1841; p.272.

2.

Agent	Date of Arrival in India	Date of death or marriage
Miss Reid	1839	Died 26th Nov., 1840
Mme. Jallot	Nov. 1841	Died 3rd May, 1842
Miss Shaw	1841	Married 1843
Mrs. Edward	1842	" 1844
Miss Beach	1842	" 1844

3. Female education In India Associations: Minutes Book, Edinburgh, January, 18th 1841.

Presumably the Committee was being accused of murder and had to justify itself by bringing medical evidence to prove that death was due to natural causes and not to the climate of India![1] Nevertheless their deaths were certainly discouraging.[2]

They were equally unlucky in the appointment of one of the two Secretaries who misappropriated the Association's funds. Not only did the Committee suffer financial loss but again had to justify itself against accusations of feminine incompetence and mismanagement. The Committee accordingly felt "called upon to put upon record that this was owing solely to the neglect of Mr. Laurie who has, in this way, retained in his hands sums amounting altogether to nearly £100, and which from the state of inextricable confusion into which his pecuniary affairs have fallen, there is not the slightest hope of ever being recovered. The Committee also feel themselves called upon for <u>their own vindication</u>, further to minute that more than a twelve month ago the acting Committee repeatedly and earnestly urged him to resign office, and when their appeals were unavailing they felt themselves placed under the necessity of declining his services altogether..... Accordingly the Committee further resolved that it should be minuted that from January 1st last, Mr. Laurie has had no connection whatever

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1. For the problem of Agent's marriage, see Chapter VIII; p. 543-9 and Appendix XII
2. J. M. Mitchell: <u>In Western India</u>; p.159-60

with this Committee."[1] There is a note here of inexperience and helplessness and a ladylike dislike of strong measures.

Despite all the handicaps the Ladies' Association embarked upon the task of selecting, training, sending out and maintaining their agents in India with courage and determination. It appointed a sub-committee to draw up a questionnaire for candidates enabling it to judge their suitability for the work in India.[2] It proceeded to establish the friendliest relations with other organisations doing similar work.[3] Its connection with the London Society was particularly close and the latter gave financial assistance as well as much valuable advice in the selection of suitable women teachers.[4]

Before the first teacher could be sent out there was, however, a slight technical hitch. Though the title of the Association included the words, "under the superintendence of the Missionaries of the Church of Scotland", the missionaries themselves had not as yet "officially" asked for assistance of this kind. This difficulty was overcome easily. A letter was despatched to Dr. Wilson and a favourable reply being received,

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1. Female Education in India Associations: Minutes Book, General Committee Edinburgh, November 23rd 1841.

2. Female Education In India Associations: Minutes Book, Edinburgh October 12th 1838.

3. Ibid, Dec 22nd 1843. Extract of a letter from Mrs. Kuntze of Berlin reporting the formation of a similar Society there and asking for more information about the Scottish Society.

4. Female Education in India Association; Minutes Book, October 11th 1841.

a young woman was sent out.[1] Since the demands from India for such teachers exceeded the supply, no difficulty was experienced in sending out a suitable woman whenever one was forthcoming.

Their supervision in India was entrusted to the Presidency Corresponding Boards which had to submit detailed reports about the work of the Association's agents. But at the same time direct correspondence was often maintained with the teacher herself. The Presidency Boards appointed sub-Committees to supervise the work of female education. These sub-Committees in turn found it wiser to associate with Ladies Committees to help with the collection of funds and to undertake general superintendence of the teachers. Acting under instruction from the Ladies' Committee, individual missionaries or superintendents of female schools supervised the work of the women teachers.

The relationship of the Association to the Foreign Missions Committee and through it to the General Assembly was less clearly defined. The seven Presidents were important men in Church life and they seem to have been present at the Annual General Meetings. But they were too busy to devote much attention to the activities of the Ladies Association which seems to have worked more or less independently of them.[2]

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1. Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland, Vol.XI, March 1839; p.176.

2. In theory its subordination to the Foreign Missions Committee must have been recognised for on the Disruption of the Church in

(Footnote 2 continued on next page)

In fact the connection was not made fully clear until 1870, when the subordinate and auxiliary character of the Association was recognised. To emphasise this close relationship and to secure greater co-operation between the two, a representative of the Assembly's Committee was adopted on the Ladies' Committee whilst the latter's treasurer was elected to the Foreign Missions Committee.[1a]

The Association early recognised the importance of money for its work and much of its organisation was modelled on effectively supplying that need. It was with this object in view that it urged the formation of Auxiliaries in every town. It appointed a Home agency to encourage those already formed.[2a] It sought the support of the clergy in the formation of a Ladies' Committee in connection with every congregation. It asked them to have a church collection at least once a year to supply the needs of the women of India. Individuals in congregations were also requested and authorised to collect money, however little, in case there was not sufficient general interest for the formation of a Committee.

Footnote 2 continued from previous page:

1843, the Established Church branch of the Ladies Association was granted all the rights to records and property even though all the missionaries but one joined the Free Church. See page 234.

1[a] Established Church of Scotland Female Education Association Minutes Book, February 22nd 1870 and April 18th 1870.

2[a]. Scottish Ladies' Association Report, 1842; p.9.

It was necessary to give the widest publicity to the activities of the Association to secure the maximum collections. Hence it undertook to supply to individuals and auxiliaries large quantities of printed tracts, Reports, Appeals and other propagandist literature on the subject. It offered to the contributors the inducement of seeing their names printed in the Annual Report. It offered to send deputations of three people, one of whom was usually a returned missionary, to lecture on the condition of women in India, and to press upon their audiences the urgency of their needs.

The structure of the Association at home and in India may be more clearly represented by means of a diagram:[1]

(See Diagram next page)

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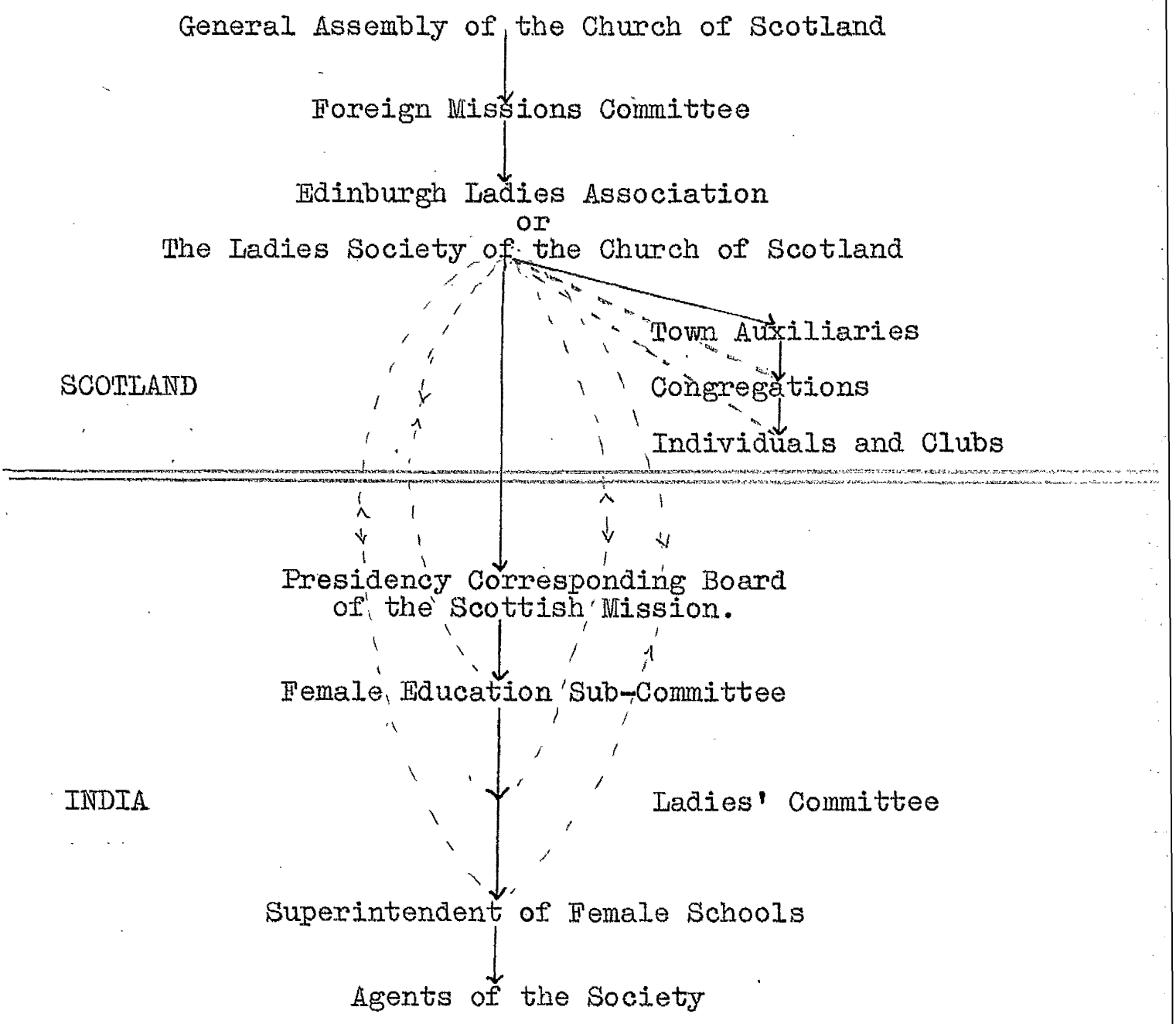
1. Note that the work of the Scottish Society was not centralised in India. Every Province dealt directly with Scotland. This was generally true of most missionary Societies during this period.



N.B. Ink lines represent the normal channels of communication; but information could also be directed as shown by the pencil lines.

The work of the Association made great progress. No doubt the rivalry and differences between the two sections of the Scottish Church were growing but there is no evidence of it in

the Minutes of the Ladies' Association. Hence it is all the more surprising that the first note of the coming Disruption should have been sounded by the split in the Ladies Committee on the appointment of its first paid secretary. Each side, Free and Established, strove to secure the appointment for its own nominee. Passions ran high when the voting was in favour of the latter's candidate by a small majority. Instead of quietly accepting the constitutional decision of the majority, the minority decided to have nothing further to do with the Association. The Disruption deprived the Association of four of its seven Presidents, its Treasurer and one of its Secretaries The Committee lost twenty-one out of its forty-five members. Most of the seceding ones formed the nucleus of what came to be known later as "The Female Society of the Free Church of Scotland for Promoting the Christian Education of the Females of India." All the missionaries, both men and women, with the sole exception of Miss Saville of Calcutta, joined the Free Church. But by an arrangement arrived at between the two sections all the property went to the Established Church.

Naturally there was some ill-feeling[1] but considering the passions that were aroused it was surprisingly little. Some

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1. Established Church of Scotland Ladies' Association Report, 1844; p.12. Note the rather acrimonious discussion with Dr. Duff on the latter's withdrawal of the offer of a site for a school-building.

of the Missionaries in India even wrote kindly letters to the rival organisation and offered to supervise the work of its agents.[1] The Disruption thus resulted in splitting the Association into two similar halves, each regarding itself as the direct successor of the parent Association.[2] At first the prospects seemed gloomy but the split served merely as a prelude to fresh efforts by both which resulted in a great expansion of their activities.

Expansion of their activities was however contingent upon an improvement of their financial position. They tried to increase their funds by issuing collecting cards, and by organising Parochial Missionary Associations. Children's Missionary Record also formed a useful auxiliary and brought in an appreciable sum of money.[3] Young people in every congregation were asked to subscribe a small sum of money annually, sufficient to maintain a girls' school in India in their name.[4] Similar inducement was offered to individuals and Sunday Schools in Britain who were asked to maintain a child at a Christian girls boarding school in India for the meagre

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1. The Glasgow Herald, March 3rd 1937. Article by Miss J. Watson President of W.F.M. Quoting from a letter of a Poona Missionary in 1843.

2. For a more detailed account of the Disruption see the private letter of the Rev. James Cochrane; Appendix III

3. Scottish Ladies Association Report 1847; p.22.

4. Missionary Record, Vol.IV; p.209 Church of Scotland. Letter of Mrs. Hamilton, dated Madras, November 11th 1847.

sum of £3 per annum. The benefactors were regularly supplied with reports of the conduct and progress of their wards.

This idea, first appearing in the Ladies' Association Report of 1845,[1] became increasingly popular as it created and maintained a sense of personal interest in the education of Indian girls. An application was received even from John Paton of Upper Canada to support two girls in the normal class at Madras in the name of two Sabbath Schools of Fergus and Toronto.[2]

The adoption of the idea brought its own little problems. The supporters were entitled to give their wards European names of their own liking.[3] A change in the sponsor therefore often involved a change in the child's name. Sometimes the same sponsor decided to give a different name to her ward. In one instance a lady who supported a child by the name of Lucy suddenly decided to change her name to Emily Louise![3] In addition to questioning the practical expediency of such changes, the attention of the supporters was drawn to the

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1. Scottish Ladies' Association Report 1845; p.18.
"In connection with the support of the Orphan Institution at Calcutta, the Committee would notice, as worthy of imitation, the example of a lady, who has undertaken to provide the amount necessary for the maintenance and education of one of the orphans whom she selected for this purpose. A degree of personal interest is thus excited in the welfare and progress of the children, which may recommend the adoption of the plan to others, whose liberality may induce them to follow it."

2. Female Education in India Associations: Minutes 16th January, 1856.

3. This practice was quite common even earlier. See London Missionary Society Records: Travancore, Box no.1. Folder no. 2 Jacket D. Letter of Mrs. Mault dated Nagurcoil, Feb. 10th 1826.

disastrous Anglifying tendency which was becoming increasingly notable among the Indian Christians. The change from Indian to European names further encouraged this and Mr. Pourie wrote back saying that this propensity of the supporters, however human and natural, should be discouraged in the true interests of their wards.[1]

The Free Church Society further sought to reinforce the interest of the women at home by publishing a magazine entitled "The Eastern Female's Friend" in 1844. This gave greater publicity to their work, especially that of Zenana teaching, which inspired greater interest by virtue of its novelty. They also asked women to send their fancy work, which the Committee would despatch to India for sale there. These devices succeeded in raising money for the work of the Association.

The work of women teachers in India was not easy and the Home Society strove to give its agents all possible help, advice and supervision. The degraded condition of women in India made the task of these teachers difficult. The Indian male teachers and others, who did not think very highly of their own women, paid little regard even to the orders of European women. While perfectly willing to take orders from the male missionaries, they were prone to ignore the orders of

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1. A. Swan: Seed Time and Harvest; p.79-80

their wives. Mrs. Wilson complained: "I have been much tried by the Pantojis of different schools. They seem to think that, as you are away, they are under a different government, and may form new laws for themselves. A female reign in the mission is something like one in the state. Our authority is not respected and although our code of laws may be good, we find many obstacles to its ministration."[1]

It was partly to make the task of their teachers easier that as early as 1841, the Committee had considered the appointment of a male missionary to undertake the superintendence of girls schools and devote his time entirely to the advancement of female education.[2] "To him the women teachers sent out by the Committee would, in the first instance, be responsible; to him they would be instructed to look for direction and advice; and whilst, of course, it would be his business to take a principal share, and as far as circumstances allowed, in the work of actual tuition, he would relieve them of a thousand things connected with the secularities of the schools, for which females, however talented, are neither by

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1. Letter of Margaret Wilson to Dr. John Wilson on tour, dated 25th February, 1831. Quoted in John Wilson's: Memoir of Margaret Wilson; p.292
See also: Scottish Ladies' Association Report 1847; p.15. Dr. Charles of Calcutta, "no lady can command the respect and discipline which a man can."

2. Female Education in India Associations: Minutes Book Edinburgh March 22nd 1841.

character nor education, so well fitted. True it is, that the females sent out by the Committee, are placed under the protection of excellent missionaries of the Church, and everything in their power we know has been done by them to strengthen their hands, and advance the work. But the Committee are disposed to think that the work is important enough to have male agents of its own, and they are strongly inclined to make this experiment."[1]

However nothing seems to have been done for some time. No doubt the events of the Disruption delayed action on the matter. Then there was the difficulty of finding a man suitable for the post who would go to India as Superintendent of Female Schools rather than as an ordained missionary. So when Mr. Walker of the Edinburgh Normal School expressed his willingness to take up such a post the Committee seized this opportunity.[2] The terms of his appointment reveal the differential treatment meted out to men even by a Ladies' Committee.[3] Though he was

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1. Scottish Ladies' Association Report 1841; p.11.

2. Female Education in India Association: Minutes Book 19th October, 1846.
Scottish Ladies' Association Report 1847; p.16.

3. Female Education in India Association; Minutes Book Edinburgh February 6th 1847.
"The sub-Committee next took into consideration the case of Mr. Walker their agent lately appointed by the India Missions Committee and resolved that he be paid the sum of £60 before leaving Scotland in consideration of time occupied in preparing for setting out to India and during his passage thither; that his salary be paid quarterly by the Association's Treasurer at Madras; the first quarter beginning on the 1st of May next, and that the amount annually paid to Mr. Walker be the same as that

(Footnote 3 continued on next page)

appointed and paid by the Ladies' Society and was expected to devote his whole time to the work of girls schools, the idea of women employing men had not yet become respectable. Hence nominally the appointment was made in the name of the Foreign Missions Committee and he was to enjoy the same privileges and salary as paid to their lay missionaries. Unlike other agents of the Association, he was allowed to draw his salary direct from the Bankers at Madras.[1a] He was also paid for the time he spent in preparing for his departure to India for which the women received no remuneration. In addition the passage and outfit of his fiancé to India was also paid for by the Association.[2a] This shows how difficult it was to persuade a man to take up such a post. Even so the ladies Association did not hesitate to give him preference over their female agents when a suitable man was forthcoming.

Footnote 3 continued from previous page:

given by the Committee of the General Assembly or Foreign Missions to their lay missionaries at Madras, and be subject to the same fluctuations. It was also resolved that no missive of agreement be entered into with Mr. Walker, it being understood that he devote his whole time and attention to the interests of that section of the Church of Scotland's Mission at Madras which is under the support and care of this Association: and that he be subject to those parts of the printed Bye-laws of this Association which refer to foreign agents."

1a. Female Education in India Association: Minutes Book January 17th 1848.

2a. Ibid: 5th June, 1848.

Bombay and Calcutta pressed the need for similar appointments.[1] The Ladies' Committee promised to do their best and after some time another man was sent to Calcutta.[2]

There is little doubt that the appointment of male agents was justified by results; Mr. Walker in particular "rendered extremely valuable services".[3] In fact such an appointment gave a new importance to female education in general missionary work. It marked the beginning of the process which gradually substituted "Christian influence" for "Conversion" as the aim of missionary endeavour. When the Mooniata case emptied the girls' schools, quite a number of missionaries doubted the wisdom of conversions which caused a sensation. They challenged the wisdom of such a course. According to them prudence and religious example alike dictated a different course. It was hardly worth while to have all the girls' schools denuded of pupils for the sake of a few baptisms. Even if the majority of girls came back much damage was done. The pupils of the higher castes as well as those most promising intellectually often did not return. The Hindus might start schools of their own which would prevent the girls from coming even under Christian influence. Besides, teachers were dismissed while the schools

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1. Female Education in India Association: Minutes Book March 17th 1847.
2. Ibid: October 4th 1850.
   Scottish Ladies' Association Report 1848; p.13.
3. Ibid: June 20th 1855.

were shut and they had to be sought for all over again when the schools re-opened. They reinforced these arguments on grounds of practical expediency by finding a precedent in the example of St. Paul who declared that Christ sent him not to baptise, but to preach the Gospel. It was more desirable to exercise Christian influence over many girls in the schools than to convert a few.[1]

The appointment of a male agent gave an impetus to the cause of female education in India. But it became increasingly difficult to find suitable men for the post and having found them, to retain their services. Mr. Walker, when he had acquired a knowledge of the vernaculars which made him more suitable for the post, petitioned to the ladies' Committee to be allowed to take the holy orders and engage in direct preaching by formally transferring his services to the Board of

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1. Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland, Vol.IV; p.115. Letters of the Rev. R. K. Hamilton, Corresponding Agent of the General Assembly's Mission Board to Mr. Nelson, dated Madras 12th May, 1847:

'Regretting the diminution in the number of girls at female schools owing to the alarm caused by the conversion and court case of a girl at Mr. Anderson's school, he says:..... "It is, indeed, to be hoped that the excitement may subside, and the girls return in the course of time. But many of the missionaries here are fearful that injurious results of a more lasting nature will ensue. It is impossible yet to say what the consequences may be. But you may judge of the immediate effects that have been produced by the fact, that in our girls' school, numbers have diminished to thirty; and the best and the most promising girls are amongst those who have been removed."

Ibid: Letter of Mr. Grant to Mr. Nelson, dated Madras 8th May, 1847: See Appendix IV.

Foreign Missions.[1] Though the emoluments were the same, the halo of being a missionary continued to attract such agents. The Ladies' Committee was alsost as helpless in their case as in that of the marriage of its female agents. When this happened, it tried with some success to retain the services of such an agent on a part time basis.[2]

The ladies displayed great caution and understanding in promoting the work of female education in India. They established a well co-ordinated organisation both in Scotland and in India for transacting day to day business. They left the discretion in most things to the men and women on the spot while they contented themselves with framing policy and seeing that expenditure did not exceed their income. All the same there was nothing too small to escape their vigilant eyes and they strove to keep themselves well informed on everything that concerned women's work in India. For example, though the organisation was on a hierarchical basis and the duties and responsibilities at each level were clearly defined, they maintained direct communication with all. Whenever they saw that their policy was being departed from or an injustice had been done to somebody, they did not hesitate to intervene.

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1. Female Education in India Association's Minutes Book 20th June, 1855.

2. Ibid.

They strongly laid down the law that only conforming members of the Church of Scotland should be sent as their agents.[1] They refused to sanction the appointment of a teacher to a Eurasian school maintaining that they were only concerned with the education of Indian girls.[2] They also ordered fuller information on the dismissal of two teachers who seemed to have given long and faithful service.[3]

Thus the Scottish ladies managed their Society, efficiently, quietly and firmly. Slowly they were acquiring the same rights and privileges as were enjoyed by the male members of Society. The change was coming although the pace was slow. It was not yet fashionable for women to speak at public meetings. But in 1875, Miss Pigot, a Eurasian woman, joined the missionary delegation sent by the Society to tour Scotland to collect funds and to give publicity to its work in India. She addressed

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1. Female Education in India Associations: Minutes Book August 1st 1846.
"Recording the disapproval of Miss Lochers being employed in the school about to be set going by the Rev. Mr. Grant, and to state that, as acting under the Assembly's Committee on India Missions and following the principles on which the mission is conducted, their agents, whatever be the circumstances in which they are employed, must be members of the Church of Scotland, and in full communion with the Church."

2. Female Education in India Associations: Minutes Book March 15th 1849.
Established Church of Scotland Female Education Society July 16th 1860.

3. Female Education in India Associations Minutes Book June 8th 1860.

as many as forty meetings during the course of the tour. It was a novel proceeding for a woman to address public meetings; nevertheless she received general approval. A couple of years later she was followed by Mrs. Ferguson who repeated the same performance with great success and from that time public speaking was no longer confined to wives of retired missionaries only.[1]

The ladies advanced another step when in 1876 they held the first women's conference during the sitting of the General Assembly. No gentlemen were present except Mr. Ferguson and the business of the conference was conducted by women alone, only as a matter of courtesy were the two clergymen, who had invited themselves to the conference, asked to say a few words at the end of the proceedings. In 1878 Mr. Ferguson opened the conference but nominated a woman to the Chair on the grounds that the exclusion of men will lead to greater freedom of discussion among the women.[2]

The days of male patronage were, however, not yet quite over. At a meeting urging increasing support for the work of the Ladies' Society, the Chairman found it essential to add the masculine caution that "with regard to wives and daughters, perhaps it would be as well that they should not be applicants

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1. A. Swan: Seed Time and Harvest; p.95-96.

2. Ibid; p.96.

to their own husbands and fathers, as they were so much in the way of asking them for other things."[1] The haughty and condescending attitude of men towards the work of the Ladies' Society was summed up by Principal Rainy in his speech to the Assembly in 1882 when he said: "People forget that really one-half of the work on all our mission fields is among the women, and if we are to Christianise these women, it must be largely through the instrumentality of their own sex. There may even be a feeling in the minds of some, the polite feeling so natural to male critics, that the work which is in the hands of ladies cannot be very well or reliably done. I may comfort them by informing them that though the ladies raise the funds and select the agents, every appointment of the Society is sanctioned by the Foreign Missions Commitee. Moreover the ladies have always had the help of our very best elders in conducting their business and their agents, when they go abroad, do not work at their own hands but are as much under the control of the local mission Committee as are our own missionaries. There is thus every reason to believe that these missions (i.e. the Women's) will be conducted in a satisfactory way."[2]

This clearly shows that male conceit still attributed much of the success of "the ladies" to the fostering care of the

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1. A. Swan: Seed Time and Harvest; p.98.
2. Ibid; p.143.

dominant sex. Although the achievements of women were recognised, they were as yet far from inspiring universal confidence. But whatever Principal Rainy or men like him may think and say, women had demonstrated their ability and competence to manage their own affairs by helping others less fortunately placed to manage theirs. By 1882 the Ladies' Society of the Free Church of Scotland alone was handling over seven thousand pounds a year.[1] Women did most of the work of the Society and the supervision of men was only nominal. They now addressed public meetings with confidence. Indeed women working through the Churches did much to lend force to the general demand of women for increasing liberties. But the silent labours of these religious women have been obscured by the fame of the more militant Feminists and have received much less recognition than they deserve.[2]

The rest of the history of the two Scottish Ladies' Organisations may be briefly told. In 1892 the original Ladies' Association of the Established Church of Scotland assumed the title of "The Church of Scotland's Women's Association for Foreign Missions". In 1925 the Committee of the Women's Foreign Mission of the United Free Church was amalgamated with the Assembly's Foreign Mission Committee for adminstrative purposes.

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1. The Ladies' Society of the Free Church of Scotland Annual Report 1882; p.40.

2. With the exception of Miss Florence Nightingale.

The Free and Established Church Branches were united in the Great Union of 1929 and every office within the Committee, except that of convener, was thrown open to women.

At this stage some interesting comparisons between the work of the English and the Scottish Ladies' Societies can be made. Both were formed with the specific object of promoting the instruction of Indian girls although their activities extended also to the Far East and Africa. The English Society was established earlier in point of time and to a great extent supplied the model for the Scottish Society. The work of the former was, however, inter-denominational and even secular, that of the latter strictly sectarian. The mainspring of the English Society was united Protestant action; the roots of the Scottish Ladies' Society lay deep in Scottish Protestantism.

This contrast in character also differentiated the mode of their activities. Because financial aid was more susceptible to fair and equalitarian distribution, the English Society contented itself by making such contributions when asked for; it also helped to select and train suitable women teachers to go to India. But it did not directly maintain any girls' schools of its own. The Scottish Society, on the other hand, maintained its own women teachers and girls' schools in India. It often sought and obtained the support of the Ladies' Society for Promoting Female Education in the East but did not directly concern itself with the work of other denominational Societies.

It would also appear from the description of the activities of the two Societies that, on the whole, the English ladies showed greater independence than the Scottish. The former had no formal connection with the Church Missionary Society and was a quasi-independent body; ladies held all the offices except that of the Treasurer. The Scottish ladies were under closer male supervision; this was implicit in the very name of the Society - "The Scottish Ladies' Association for the Advancement of Female Education in India under the Missionaries of the Church of Scotland." The important offices of Presidents, Secretary, and Treasurer were held by men who showed great condescension and appropriated to themselves much of the credit for the work of the Society. This may perhaps be explained by the fact that the Feminist Movement developed later in Scotland.

SECTION C

Some European and American Female Education Societies

The general causes that led to the quickening of feminine activity in the nineteenth century were also operative on the continent of Europe.[1] The example of British women was noted there and only a year after the foundation of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East, a similar organisation was formed at Geneva under the Presidency of Baroune de Staël, the widowed daughter-in-law of the famous Madame de Staël.[2] Interest in Indian women spread to other parts of Switzerland and the Basle Ladies Missionary Society was particularly keen to help. Both these Societies maintained close correspondence with the London Society and sometimes recommended women whom they considered suitable to proceed to India as teachers.[3]

German women followed in the train of the Swiss to help

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1. See page 203.

2. Lady Blennerhassett: Madame de Staël, Vol.III; p.585. Another example of famous men and women who were associated with the work for the women of India. We have already noted John Labouchere, see footnote p. 212.

3. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Annual Report 1835.

the London Society in its efforts to promote the instruction of Indian girls. The Berlin Ladies Society was established on the model of the London Society and by 1844 it reckoned thirty-five auxiliaries in different parts of Prussia. When Miss Keil, returned to Germany in 1848 owing to the failure of her health, the Society decided not to send any more women teachers to India. It promised, however, to support the girls' schools already established there and continued to take interest in the instruction of Indian girls.[1]

The available information about the activities of these European Societies is of a very fragmentary character; possibly they played a more important part than has been put on record. Thus it was probably the interest taken by Princess Louise of Hesse in the women of India through one of the German auxiliaries that led Mary Carpenter to ask her in 1877 to become the President of her Society for the promotion of female education in India.[2] All the same, language difficulties imposed an almost insuperable barrier and prevented continental women from playing a more important part in the education of Indian girls. It was hard enough for British women who had to learn the Indian vernaculars; the Swiss and German women had to learn English

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1. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Annual Report 1848; p.4.

2. Parliamentary Papers 1877, Vol.LXIII; p.440.

in addition.[1]

The significance of the work of these European women lies not so much in their actual contribution to the cause of promoting female education in India as in demonstrating the more Catholic nature of women's sympathies. Rising nationalism had stopped the flow of foreign missionaries in India and the work of German missionaries like Schultze, Swartz and Rhenius, was gradually taken over by the British.[2] The work of the European women emphasised the international character of the women's movements in their earliest days. They not only cut across the growing national rivalries in the nineteenth century Europe but also gave an example of United Protestant action to Churches torn with sectarian differences.

In the second half of the nineteenth century American women began to take an interest in the instruction of Indian girls as well. As early as 1834 David Abeel, the missionary who had been instrumental in founding the Society for the Promotion of Female Education in the East,[3] had appealed to American women to interest themselves in the women of India. He exhorted them to form an organisation on the model of the London Society. But the appeal fell on deaf ears; America was

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1. See Chapter VIII; p.351
2. J. Mullens: Results of Missionary Labour in India; p.13.
3. See page 203

socially more conservative and sectarian differences were strong. The opposition of the Denominational Boards prevented such a plan from taking shape and for the time being nothing further was done.[1]

Thirty years later, however, Mrs. Doremus successfully revived the project. In 1861 the Women's Union Missionary Society was established under her presidency. The Society began with voluntary workers but the idea caught on and branches were established in different parts of the United States. Like the London organisation, the Union Society embraced most of the Protestant sects, but unlike the former, it had a proselytising basis. It was the pioneer organisation of American women dealing with missionary work of which female education formed a very important part.[2]

The Union Society set a worthy example and showed how much work needed to be done and could be done in a spirit of mutual co-operation. But it was easier to rouse sectarian zeal and different sects preferred to set up their own organisations. In 1868 the Congregationalists organised the first great denominational women's Board; they were followed by the Methodists, the Presbyterians and the Baptists, who established similar women's organisations. Though it was clearly understood

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1. H. Montgomery: Western Women in Eastern Lands; p.21.
2. Ibid; p.25.

that these sectarian societies were to be in no way regarded as auxiliaries to the Women's Union Missionary Society, they co-operated with it in much the same way as the English and Scottish Societies did.[1]

The women's movement in U.S.A. received great impetus from the Civil War. "They had learned during the mighty conflict of preceding years which had called forth the energies of our country that there was work for women also, and quite within her own sphere, she might find ample scope and pressing need for her unwearied labours, watchings and prayers....."[2] The religious revival of 1873 led women to join the missionary societies in increasing numbers prepared to proceed abroad to evangelise the unconverted.[3] The newly discovered freedom and the religious revival soon enabled the American women to take an equal place with their English sisters. Indeed as far as India was concerned the work of the American women became increasingly important and it was they who founded the first women's college there.[4]

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1. H. Montgomery: Western Women in Eastern Lands; p.24-26
2. Ibid; p.10, 26.
3. Ada Lee: The Life of Chunder Lela; sketch of the authoress; p.119.
4. See Chapter VII p. 494

Section D

The foundation of these Societies was mainly the work of men and women from Britain who applied their knowledge and gift of organisation to Indian conditions. The British military conquest of India was the work of a small but highly organised and disciplined minority and was maintained by constant succour from home; the schemes for the cultural conquest of India, were no less dependent upon similar aid from Britain. Neither the teachers nor the money for the purpose could have been found in India and the task was also beset with other difficulties; only organised effort could overcome them. The gradual evolution and growth of the Female Education Societies suggest the superiority of organisations over individuals, however able.

As institutions their lives were longer; the existence of an individual was much more precarious. Thus before the foundation of these Societies when a missionary or his wife died or moved to another place, the schools had to be abandoned. In fact the early missionaries wasted much time and effort in dispersing their limited resources.[1] An organisation was able to draw upon the experience and resources of many individuals and was in a better position to repair any sudden losses. Under the supervision of a Society, the unconnected and unco-ordinated

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1. See Chapter II; p. 123-24.

labours of many persons could be harnessed and given a coherent continuity. It could also survey the field more effectively and plan for the future in the secure belief that individuals would be forthcoming to implement policies mutually agreed upon.

Furthermore, it was no less advantageous to the intending women teachers to proceed to India under the patronage of some society. In the earlier period they could not have earned their living merely by instructing Indian girls. They would have had to undertake, for at least part of the time, to teach European and Eurasian children in order to be self-supporting. They could not thus have devoted all their energies to the instruction of Indians. Not until education became more general did the Indians realise the need for educating women on Western lines and express a willingness to pay for their instruction. Meanwhile the teachers had to be maintained largely from the money subscribed by Europeans. Private organisations were in a better position to raise money for the purpose from different sources than were individuals, however famous and trusted. The Societies used the funds at their disposal not only to provide their teachers in India with more than an adequate maintenance but also arranged for their passage and outfit. It also insured them against unforseen mishaps, such as the failure of health in the trying tropical climate, by promising to bring them back to Britain. In fact employment by an organisation was the

only way in which a woman teacher, without private means, could go to India.

Financial security was only one aspect of the greater general security enjoyed by a teacher if her work in India was sponsored by an organisation. It provided suitable escort for her during the voyage, for women in those days were not supposed to travel unaccompanied on ships commanded by bachelors![1] Arrangements were also made for her reception on arrival in India. She was usually received in a missionary household until satisfactory arrangements could be made for her stay. An unmarried woman could not then live alone without causing comment and after a time provision was made for her to share accommodation with another teacher similarly employed. The sense of group feeling gave the teachers self-confidence and prevented the world from appearing too large or too remote. They could thus devote their whole time to the girls shielded from many of the inconveniences attendant upon residence in a foreign country like India.

It was widely recognised that Missionary Societies could not adequately perform these functions and more specialised organisations were required to meet the needs of the situation. Their scope was too wide and they could not give female education the attention it deserved. Men could not be expected to take a particular interest in the subject; only

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1. See Chapter VIII, p. 557-8

women could tackle the task with the urgency it demanded. The secluded condition of women in India made it essential to avoid publicity. Thus the situation, both at home and in India, made it desirable that separate Ladies' Societies should be formed. "As a committee of gentlemen would be manifestly incompetent to select these (intending teachers) and superintend their training, it followed of course, that a Ladies' Society could alone meet the emergency."[1] "A Society of Ladies has the additional advantage that it can carry on its deliberations and execute its plans in a quiet unobtrusive manner, suited to the subordinate and retired position of the object of its solicitude."[2] It was a useful division of labour and the task received the systematic and continuous attention which would otherwise have been almost impossible.

These Societies also provided a useful outlet for the energies of the growing number of unmarried middle-class women. They offered a ready channel for the educational interests and abilities of "Christian women" to be utilised for a constructive purpose. The successful efforts of British women demonstrated their competence and abilities and made their demands for increasing liberties more irresistible when

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1. Church of Scotland Records: Ladies' Society Miscellaneous Papers.
2. Ibid.

they came to challenge the male monopoly of professions.[1]

The stages in the creation of specific organisations for the instruction of Indian girls may now be briefly summarised. Individual European women, wives of the missionaries, army officers and others, were the first to instruct Indian girls on Western lines in informal schools. Unburdened by household duties because of a plentiful supply of servants, some of them employed their leisure in instructing the children of their own servants or any others who were willing to learn. The success of their efforts awakened the missionaries as a class to the usefulness of female education as an auxiliary to proselytism. The Missionary Societies at the Presidency towns, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were then convinced of its utility and helped to obtain from their home Societies the recognition of girls' schools as a branch of missionary activity. As a consequence Female Education Societies were formed within almost every denomination. Later a Society was also founded to instruct Indian girls on a secular basis and this included Government officials and Indians who would not co-operate directly with the former societies.

The chief contribution of this period was thus the establishment of voluntary organisations to promote particular ends. Organised efforts to promote literary and cultural

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1. See Chapter VII.

activities through such bodies distinguished the British from any preceding period in Indian history.[1] Superior discipline and organisation gave the European armies victory over their Indian opponents. In the educational sphere this resulted in the gradual emergence of a "system" though the immediate results were not so spectacular. Education societies, regular inspections, public examinations, school registers, annual reports, and the whole paraphernalia of Western education was implanted on the simple and intensely personal relationship between the "Guru" and the "chela" (master and pupil) which characterised indigenous education. This certainly made instruction more impersonal and was necessarily accompanied by some loss of spontaneity which made it, in Indian eyes, less suitable for girls. Though the spread of Western education among Indian women was slow and difficult, the persistent and integrated efforts of the Education Societies gradually made headway. As the upper castes and higher classes were inaccessible, the work among girls was at first confined to the lower castes and classes. This identification of education with mass-literacy was itself a new idea, a conception as yet new both to Britain and India.

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1. To illustrate the point just the mention of a few names will be sufficient - the Calcutta School Book Society, the Calcutta School Society, Bengal Christian School School Society, Baptist Female School Society, Calcutta Ladies Society for the Promotion of Native Female Education, the Academic Association, the Society for the Acquisition of Useful Knowledge. These names may be further multiplied. Nor were they confined

(Footnote continued)

to Bengal alone and were as numerous in Bombay and Madras. Some of these names have the familiar ring of their British counterparts. (See Charles Lushington: The History of Calcutta Institutions.)

CHAPTER IV

THE EVOLUTION OF GOVERNMENTAL POLICY AND INDIAN SCHEMES 1815-1854

The growth of Missionary activity in the sphere of female education was described in the last two chapters. In this an attempt is made to trace the origin and development of the Government's interest in the matter, and the rise of spontaneous Indian effort.

The Missionaries first drew the attention of the Government to the subject, and the patronage of the latter did a great deal to inspire the Indians to promote the same object. These three streams were constantly intermingling, but for convenience and clarity, separate chapters have been assigned to Missionary activity.

At this period it was far more important than the efforts made either by the Government or the Indians, and forms a unity of its own. On the other hand, the Indians, especially the higher castes, relying on the pledge of religious neutrality given by the Government, more readily co-operated with the Government than with the Missionaries. The Government thus occupied an intermediary position. It not only promoted female

education directly, but above all, co-ordinated the efforts of various bodies pursuing the same object, both Missionary and Indian.

It is generally maintained that the Government took no interest in female education until the Missionaries had familiarised it with the idea and demonstrated its probable success. There is a large element of truth in the statement, but it needs qualification to explain fully the attitude of the Government. It would not be fair to judge the Company's policy by modern standards, and it must be borne in mind that the utilitarian conception of the State which dominated British thought during the first half of the Nineteenth Century was essentially negative in character. The State, according to the Benthamites, ought to be a "hindrance to hindrances" to good life, but could not actively promote it.

Practically all education in England at this period was under Church and Chapel, and the intervention of the State was sought only very gradually. It was nearing the close of the century before the State took precedence over other authorities in the sphere of education.

If the Government in Britain pursued such a hesitating policy with regard to education, the policy of the Company in India is all the more understandable. Primarily a trading

concern, it could not be expected to think of a Social-Service State, a conception which was unfamiliar even to contemporary Britain. That it should have taken greater interest in the education of boys was also more reasonable. After all, English-speaking boys were needed to fill the junior posts in the Company's administration. Female education promised no such direct advantages, and hence warranted no intervention. This attitude of the Government was supported even by those who were themselves engaged in promoting the education of Indian women.[1]

The fact that education both in Britain and in India was largely in the hands of religious bodies, acted as a deterrent to further Governmental action. It was feared that if the Church were too active in the cause of education it was likely to arouse the hostility of the Indian people, which might ultimately threaten Britain's position as the Paramount Power in the country. The pacification of India was recent, and not completed until about 1820.[2] As a foreign Government, the

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1. Priscilla Chapman: Hindoo Female Education 1839, p. 67. "With reference to female education, it is impossible for Governments to interfere; neither can the means for improving the condition of the female population become the subject of legislation."

2. F. Shore: Notes on Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, pp. 3 - 9. Minute of Lord Miora, 2nd October, 1815..... The necessity of self-defence (for all our extensions of our territory have

(Footnote continued on page 265)

Company was diffident about its knowledge of the country and its people. Hence in social and religious issues it naturally pursued a Conservative policy. What did not directly threaten its prerogative had best be left undisturbed. Political expediency as well as the growth of religious toleration in England both led the Company to adhere to its pledge of religious neutrality. No doubt in exceptional cases, such as the prohibition of Sati in 1829, this policy was abandoned. But in fairness to the Government it must be pointed out that a large section of advanced Indian opinion and the Missionaries had both demonstrated the obvious abuses of this corrupted ancient rite, and demanded its suppression in no uncertain terms. In the case of female education there was no such unanimity. If the Missionaries had not aroused the fears of the Indian reformers by using girls' schools as a proselytising agency, it is possible that the Government might have been encouraged to pursue a bolder policy. As it was, the Missionaries and Indians came together at first for a brief period, but the latter soon withdrew their active support. The Government had to stand aside to preserve its own neutrality.[1]

It is in this context that the contribution of the

(Footnote continued from page 264)
been achieved in repelling efforts made for the subversion of our power) and our occupation in securing the new possessions have allowed us, till lately, but little leisure to examine deliberately the state of the population which we had been gradually bringing beneath our sway."

(1) See p.272. Cancellation of the grant by the Governor-General.

Government to female education should be estimated. Here, even the Missionaries had cause to be grateful. British Government in India was largely based on prestige as its police forces were inadequate for the task of maintaining order and the safety of life and property. The Europeans, as members of the ruling race, naturally enjoyed much greater security of life and property than the generality of Indians. The Missionaries shared this general protection even if individual Government officials were occasionally hostile to their work. They were thus allowed to carry on their proselytising activities in the girls' schools with no greater inconvenience than a general withdrawal of pupils in the eventuality of a conversion. This toleration was mainly enjoyed by the Missionaries owing to the political supremacy of Britain. The Missionaries, even while criticising the Government for not doing more, fully appreciated this fact, and in their turn, were no less anxious to maintain their racial privileges.[1]

Apart from the indirect general support given in this way to the Missionaries to open girls' schools, the Government also contributed financially to Charity Schools and Benevolent Institutions. True, these were mainly for European and Eurasian

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1. See Appendix.V

girls. In addition, the Company's Army maintained Regimental Schools, in which the children of the soldiers received instruction.[1] The instruction given was of a very elementary character. In any case, these schools were not very numerous, and are only of historical interest.

However, while the Government did little for female education at first, its officers, in their private capacity, gave great encouragement. Almost from the beginning some of them had favoured the idea of the Missionaries educating Indian girls. They and their wives gave valuable financial support, visited the schools and helped to publish suitable books and tracts.[2] In some cases they even undertook to teach women and girls in their own neighbourhood.[3] The Governor-General and the Marchioness of Hastings thus subscribed 200 rupees each to Daniel Corrie's appeal for Miss Cooke's female schools.[4] Lady Hastings even visited some of these in lanes

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1. Teignmouth Lord: Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of John Lord Teignmouth Vol. 1. p. 292. Letter dated May 5, 1794.
   Calcutta Review, Vol. XVII. p. 445.
2. Weitbrecht, J. J. Missions in Bengal, p. 313.
3. Private Journals of Hastings Vol. II. p. 156; Priscilla Chapman: Hindoo Female Education, p. 115.
4. Church Missionary Record, Nov. 1822, p. 482.

where European women were seldom seen.[1] Lady Amherst, besides being the patroness of "The Ladies' Society for Native Female Education in Calcutta and its Vicinity", took an active part in its proceedings.[2] Lord Amherst himself laid the foundation stone of Mrs. Wilson's Central School.[3] Lord William Bentinck and Sir Charles Metcalfe followed their predecessors in giving 800 and 700 rupees respectively to Mrs. Wilson's Orphan Institution.[4] Lady Bentinck accorded her patronage to girls' schools[5] and her successors followed her example.[6] This example of leading Government officials and their wives was of great help in encouraging others to subscribe to the funds of the Female Education Societies.[7]

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1. Church Missionary Record, Nov. 1823, p. 116.
2. J. Richey: Selections from the Records of the Government of India Part II, p. 37.
3. Ibid, p. 38.
4. The Rev. B. W. Noel: Sermon on the Duty of Christians to the Female Children of India, April 28, 1836, p. 34.
5. Calcutta Review, Vol XIII, p. 460.
6. India Office Tracts p. 635: Chamba Mission Report. Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland, Vol. VI, p.490 "Letter from Dr. Charles to the Scottish Ladies' Association"
7. London Missionary Society Records: North India, Bengal Box 2, Folder I, Jacket C. Letter from the Revs. S. Trawin, J. Hill and F. Warden. Dated Calcutta, August 31, 1824.

It was not only the Government officials and their wives who, in their private capacities, encouraged female education. The East India Company itself made financial contributions which benefited girls as well. Thus in 1816 it gave a grant to Marshman's Schools for the People and May's Chinsurah Schools.[1] It was only when the girls' section did not make any progress that the support was discontinued by the Government.[2] The Directors also sanctioned a grant of 500 rupees per mensem to the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor at Bombay. A little later in 1817 and 1819, the Calcutta School Book Society and the Calcutta School Society were formed. They not only received valuable donations from officials, including the Governor-General, but also received grants from the Government treasury.[3] Though these Societies were mainly concerned with the education of boys, they also gave some consideration and support to girls' schools.[4]

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1. J. Richey: Selections from the Educational Records of the Government of India, Vol. II, p. 45.
   J. Hough: History and Christianity in India, Vol. IV p.435.
2. W. Adam: Report on the State of Education in Bengal, 1835 p.44.
3. Ibid.
   A. Howell: Education in India, p. 13
   Calcutta School Book Society, 1st Report, p.57; 2nd Report p. 4; 4th Report p. 12.
4. First Annual Report of the Society for the Education of the Poor, Bombay 1816: India Office Tracts, 40.
   Asiatic Review, April 1932, p. 285-6.
   Chapter VIII, .

Thus some actions of the Government benefited female education, though as yet it avowed no direct share in it.

In much the same way the Government also supported the "Annual Examinations of Female Schools" which perhaps give the best impression of the state of girls' education during this period. These were more in the nature of social functions to popularise the cause of female education, than examinations in the modern sense of the term for testing achievements. Invitations were issued to the highest gentry, European and Indian, by the Society whose female schools were to be examined. Though most of the school-children were present on the occasion, they merely provided the setting; the brightest had already been selected and were carried to the stage to demonstrate the particular abilities they had acquired during the course of the year. The chief guest of the evening, the Governor-General or some other high official, gave away the prizes and made a speech commending the girls on their accomplishments and requested the ladies and gentlemen to promote the cause of female education. They then partook of the light refreshments provided for the occasion and moved on to the bazaar, where fancy-work from England and some needlework done by the girls themselves were on sale. Here the richer guests made purchases and thus helped to augment the funds of the female schools.[1]

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1. Missionary Intelligence, December 1824. p.103

They intermingled freely and the ladies often questioned the girls, though a lack of the knowledge of vernaculars made this contact difficult. For Indian gentlemen, too, it was a valuable opportunity for bringing themselves to the notice of Government officials. They also helped the female schools financially and otherwise, though their own daughters and relations were not among the examinees.[1] In fact some of the more orthodox Indians were even seriously perturbed. To them the holding of these examinations in Town Halls and the presence there of high Government officials seemed to be a direct violation of the Director's injunction that "missionary meetings ought never to be held in official buildings, or to wear the appearance of having any official sanction."[2]

It was this religious difficulty which prevented closer co-operation between the Government and the Missionary agencies. The Government seems to have been willing to go further if this did not result in the violation of its pledge of religious neutrality. Thus in 1825[3] when a "Society of Ladies for the Promotion of Female Education in Calcutta" applied to the Government for a sum of ten thousand rupees to purchase land for the proposed Central School, two members of

1. See this Chapter, p. 289; also Chapter VIII,
2. J. W. Kaye, Christianity in India, p.452
3. House of Commons Committee Reports 1831-32, Vol.IX,p.451 quoting from:
   Publications, 30th September 1825, p.54-7

of the Council, Messrs. Harrington and Fendall sanctioned the application.[1] But the Governor-General "having..... ascertained that it had been publicly avowed in the hearing of many native gentlemen that the object of the Ladies' Society was the propagation of the Christian religion, interposed his authority and the grant was negatived."[2] It seems the Governor-General would also have agreed to the grant had representations not been made to him from other quarters that such an action would be resented. The Government was taking no risks and the Directors confirmed the decision taken by the Governor-General.

This was not the limit of the Government's assistance to female education. During the first half of the nineteenth century the Government instituted several enquiries into the State of education in the country. In 1822 Sir Thomas Munro carefully tabulated the information received from the District officers of the Madras Presidency and forwarded it to the Directors for their information.[3] In January 1825 the Governor of Bombay did the same for his Presidency. The details of these two surveys together with an earlier partial survey of conditions in Bengal were embodied in the Fisher Memoir and Supplement published as an Appendix to the House

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1. House of Commons Committee Reports 1831-32, Vol.IX,p.451 quoting from: Consultations, 18th August, 1826
2. Ibid. Publications, 13th December, 1826
3. H. Sharp, Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Part I, p.181.

of Commons Select Committee Report on the Affairs of the East India Company.[1] In 1831 the Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal received a similar Report from H. H. Wilson. But a more complete survey of Bengal was undertaken by W. Adam whose three masterly Reports (1835, 1836, 1838) gave a clearer picture of the state of indigenous instruction.[2]

Doubtless those surveys were mainly undertaken to ascertain the state of boys' education. Indeed the task of collecting facts about girls' education was beset with peculiar difficulties.[3] Neither was there any specific reference requiring such information. Nevertheless those responsible for undertaking these enquiries never thought of precluding girls from their surveys. This fact needs to be noticed here because similar bodies in England did not think of including Girls' Schools within their scope of enquiry. The Schools Enquiry Commission (appointed 1864, reported 1868) the first body to include Girls' Schools, had to be specially asked by the leaders of the Feminist Movement to do so and was "a trifle surprised" at the request.[4] This was more than twenty-five years after Adam submitted his reports!

It is true that the statistics collected at this period were not very reliable and that probably would account for the

1. Report of the House of Commons Committee, Vol. IX 1831-32, p.416
2. H. Sharp, Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Part I, p.46
3. See this Chapter, p. 279-83.
4. R. Strachey, The Cause, p.136
   R. L. Archer, A History of Education in the Nineteenth Century, p.244

divergent views expressed in the different Reports.[1] But they were remarkable in showing almost a complete absence of female education.[2] The Fisher Memoir further revealed the intimate connection between social structure and prevalence of instruction among women. Thus the Matriarchal Society of Malabar probably accounted for the proportionately far greater female literacy there than in any other part of the Madras Presidency.[3] Adam, too, pointed out the relation between economic conditions and female education by showing that it was more popular among Zemindars than among poorer people.[4] He also went into the causes of female illiteracy and his observations prove the acuteness of his vision. No doubt social customs of the country made it difficult for a high caste girl to go unaccompanied to School. But "the backwardness of native parents of good caste may be further explained by the fact that the girls' Schools are under the sole direction of missionaries; and.... to combine the special object of conversion with the general object of female education must be fatal to the latter without accomplishing the former purpose."[5] He also made several

1. M. Sharp, Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Part I, p.47
2. W. Adam, Report on the state of Education in Bengal, 1836, p.18, 336. Report of the Committee of the House of Commons Vol.IX,1831-32, p.416. Sir Thomas Munro's Minute.
3. Ibid.
4. W. Adam, Report on the State of Education in Bengal 1835, p.72,76.
5. W. Adam, State of Education in Bengal in 1836, p.219.

recommendations for spreading and improving the education of girls.[1.]

The Indian Government paid little attention to these Reports. The immensity of the task and paucity of available funds were largely responsible for its lack of interest in the subject. Besides, the passions aroused by the Anglo-Oriental controversy and the celebrated Minute of Lord Macaulay so fully absorbed most people interested in education generally that female education was relegated to the background. The monotony was occasionally broken by a man like John Wilson who, while forwarding the information required by Lord Elphinstone, the Governor of Madras, before inaugurating his educational reforms, drew his Lordship's attention to the fact that "the honour of instituting the first Government female school in India was still unappropriated."[2.] A few years later the Bengal Council of Education seems to have discussed the subject informally and encouraged Indians to open Girls' Schools.[3.]

There the matter stood until the arrival of Bethune as President of the Council of Education in April 1848.

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1. W. Adam, State of Education in Bengal in 1838, p.227/28; See Chapter VIII, p.567-8
2. G. Smith, Life of John Wilson, p.259
3. Report of the Council of Education, Bengal 1848-49, p.xxviii See paragraph one of the Letter of Joy Kissen and Raj Kissen Mookerjee of Ooterparah, dated August 1849, drawing the Council's attention to their letter of 11th June, 1845. (See Footnote P. 295)

Although a bachelor, he was very much interested in female education.[1] He saw the need for educating women, not only to bring up the next generation in sound ideas but for wives to be suitable companions to their English-educated husbands. The need seemed too urgent to await the Government's sanction of the expenditure. Besides, he did not think it fair to commit the Government to a course of action, the success of which was somewhat dubious. Therefore he decided to finance a school for upper class girls out of his own private funds. This scheme had a dual advantage: on the one hand it would save time and cut delay, on the other his prestige as the President of the Council of Education would be sufficient to demonstrate to the Indians that the Government looked upon female education with favour without committing itself.[2]

Bethune was a man of tact and far-seeing ideas. He made it quite clear that the School was to be purely a cultural institution and no religious instruction was to be given. The Indian character of the School was further emphasised by chalking a quotation from Manu on either side of the carriage which collected the girls.[3] The girls were to receive instruction in Bengali and fancy-work. English

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1. Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland 1848-51, p.222
2. Ibid.
3. "कन्या पोवं पालनीया शिक्षणीयातियत्नत:" (A daughter is in the same way worthy of being brought up and educated with great care) Quoted in Chakvavarti, I. C. Vidyasagar, p.37

was to be taught only to those whose parents so requested.[1] Admission was restricted to those "girls.... not called upon to be the instructors of others except in the bosom of their own families."[2] The School was to levy no fees but at the same time no stipends were offered to the pupils. In Bethune's opinion this "artificial stimulus" would have defeated his original purpose to discover whether there was a genuine demand for female education among the more respectable class of Indians.[3] He was careful not to embarrass his Indian friends or seem to exercise any official pressure. Thus he did not invite many of his European friends or distinguished Indians like Rushomoy Dutta, Raja Radhakant Deb and the Tagores to the Opening Ceremony. The presence of the former might have given too much official character to the function while the latter might have been present only for the sake of courtesy.[4]

All the same, he welcomed Indian co-operation where it could be had without asking. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, one of the most respected Indians in Bengal, gave his valuable support and was appointed the Honorary Secretary of the School.[5]

1. J. Richey, Selections From the Records of the Government of India, Part II, p.52.
2. Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland 1848-51, p.222
3. J. Richey, Ibid, P.53
4. Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland 1848-51, p.222-4
5. S. C. Mitra, Life of I. C. Vidyasagar.
   C. E. Buckland, Bengal Under the Lieutenant Governors, Vol.II, p.1034

It was first opened on the 7th May, 1849 at the residence of Raja Dakshinaranjan Mukherjee with eleven pupils.[1] The Raja also made a gift of a plot of land in Cornwallis Square valued at ten thousand rupees[2] on which the foundation of the School building was laid by Sir John Little on 6th November, 1850. Respectable Indians like Shambhu Nath Pandit, later judge of the Supreme Court, Ram Gopal Ghose and ~~the~~ Pandit Madan Mohan Taralankar sent their daughters to the School. The last-mentioned gentleman also undertook to give instruction free at the School and to compile suitable text-books in Bengali expressly for the use of girls.[3] The School thus started off well and the number of pupils rose steadily.[4] Bethune paid the current expenses of the School amounting to six hundred rupees per mensem from his own resources.[5]

"The establishment of the Bethune School.... may be regarded as the turning point in the annals of female education in India." It marked "the close of the era of non-interference, and the beginning of that of open encouragement."[6] "Henceforward not only the authorities in India, but the educated and influential members of Indian Society began to show an active interest in the Cause."[7]

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1. J. Richey, Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Part II, p.53
2. Ibid; Chakravarti, Life of I. C. Vidyasagar, p.38
3. S. C. Mitra, Life of I. C. Vidyasagar, p.223; Chakravarti, Life of I. C. Vidyasagar, p.38; J. Richey, Ibid.
4. J. Richey, Ibid.
5. Calcutta Review, Vol.XLVII,p.17
6. J. Richey, Ibid, p.47
7. J. Richey, Ibid.

There is no doubt that Bethune's example encouraged Indians to a bolder policy, but the beginnings of their interest in female education can be traced earlier. It is convenient to do so now though the obvious difficulties in exploring such a subject must be enumerated first.

They lie both in the character of education as well as in the Indian social customs. An Indian girl was primarily educated in her home.[1] A master would be employed to teach both boys and girls of a tender age. After she had acquired elementary knowledge which would enable her to read the sacred books and to keep simple household accounts, her education was directed more towards the domestic arts of cooking and sewing. If she showed a particular bent towards more academic learning, usually a relation could be found to help her along provided of course, that her parents could afford it.[2] There were plenty of such examples, but it must be acknowledged that only a woman of exceptional ability had such a chance; the rest married early and were absorbed in the cares of the household.

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1. Sir Madhava Rau, a strong upholder of the traditional Hindu way of educating a girl, gives an interesting account of the upbringing of an Indian girl. Up to the age of six boys and girls were brought up together. Then the boys went to schools and she continued to play with other girls of the family and of the neighbourhood in "light and open air." She did little brain-work and was subject to none of the artificial restraints of the school. She constantly saw objects around her and exercised her senses thereon. She learnt the mother tongue by using it under the strict supervision of her mother and other elderly women who were ever alert to rectify any mistakes in language, manners and grace of movement. Here she learnt "to judge the mind from the face"; (Ctd.)

2. See Appendix. XIII

School education was confined to the Pathshalas. These were small schools taught by a Pandit who was partly paid out of religious endowments and partly by some of the more well-to-do pupils. In these both boys and girls received instruction of an elementary kind. But the disturbed conditions that followed the collapse of the Moghul Empire were not conducive to the growth of this system. The educational endowments were appropriated by erstwhile rulers and used for their own purposes. The Pathshalas declined and became especially less popular for girls amidst the prevailing state of general insecurity and growing impoverishment.[1] The girls were withdrawn to the four walls of the home and there most received whatever instruction they enjoyed.

Such was the Indian provision for the instruction of girls. It was a simple system (if indeed it can be called a system) which answered the needs of the community before the age of steam engines and railways. It was based on custom and as such few records were kept and still fewer have survived.[2] For it must be borne in mind that printing did

(Footnote continued from previous page): cooking and other household duties, not from books of recipes and the like but by directly helping her mother in the kitchen. She rocked the babies to sleep and learnt to sing while grinding the corn. As she did not come into contact with boys, she preserved her "modesty and bashfulness", learning humility and fear of God at the daily family worship. (Madhava Rau, Conversations on Female Education, p.4)

1. Parliamentary Committee Reports 1831-32, Vol.IX,p.503. Report of A. D. Campbell Esq.,Collector of Bellary, August 17, 1823.

2. W. Adam, State of Education in Bengal, 1835, p.16

not become general in India until the nineteenth century. The only way to get reliable information was therefore through personal observation.

Here too, there were insuperable obstacles. Conditions varied in different parts of India and what was true of one part was not necessarily so of others. Indian social customs put a premium on the collection of any reliable information. The subject of women was too delicate to be mentioned in polite conversation and even the best of friends seldom asked a direct question about their womenfolk. The welfare of the fair sex was generally ascertained by an indirect enquiry such as "Is the house all right?" Should a foreigner presume to put a more direct question, it would be politely evaded and put down to his ignorance of manners.[1.] If it were pressed, their suspicion of the motives of the questioner would be aroused. There would then be a still more marked reticence to supplying further information and in some cases there might even be a deliberate falsification of facts.[2.] Thus though Adam knew that the Zemindars of Bengal in general educated their daughters, he "found (it) difficult to obtain from them an admission of the fact."[3.]

This left everyone in ignorance of the state of girls' education in India. Even such close and experienced observers

1. Journals of Mrs. Fenton 1826-30, p.243; E. R. Pitman, Heroines of the Mission Field, p.2
2. W. Adam, State of Education in the Bengal Presidency in 1836, p.229
3. W. Adam, Ibid, p.120,131-2

as Mrs. Wilson and Adam refused to hazard a precise estimate. To the question "What do you suppose may be the whole number of Bengali females now alive that have received what may be called a tolerable education?" Mrs. Wilson frankly replied "I cannot venture an opinion."[1] As late as 1855 a writer in the Calcutta Review deplored this lack of "opportunities of information".[2] Others, finding few outward signs, jumped to the conclusion that all Indian women were totally illiterate. Thus Ward wrote, "not a single female seminary exists among the Hindus; and possibly not twenty females blessed with the common rudiments of even Hindu learning.... among as many millions."[3] As regards the evidence of the missionaries on the subject Dr. F. W. Thomas justly remarks, "The early missionaries were too closely occupied in denouncing the immoralities of the Hindu gods as related in 'The Shasters' to supply more than vague, general and prejudiced hints concerning the education going on around them."[4] Yet in the absence of any Indian records, it is precisely on their testimony that we have in the main to rely. They poured out literature in which we find scattered references to the attitude of Indians to the subject. What is more important they

1. Calcutta Christian Observer, March 1840.
2. Calcutta Review, Vol.XXV, September 1855, p.66. See also S. C. Dutt, India Past and Present, p.176
3. Ward, History of India, Vol.I, p.161-2, 178-9, 188
4. F. W. Thomas, The History and Prospects of British Education in India, p.2

also describe how their first efforts in that direction were received in India.

The truth of the matter seems to be that education, never very widespread in the agricultural society of India, was further depressed during the wars of the eighteenth century. All the same it was more general than was apparent on the surface.[1] It survived in many an upper class home as Adam amply bears testimony. Nor did the girls entirely disappear from the Pathshalas. A contemporary sketch of "A Village School in Hindusthan" in the latter half of the eighteenth century depicts the teacher in the centre with his pupils round him; of these, seven are girls and only six boys.[2] Then, irrespective of the numbers involved, there was the important fact that the tradition of learned women had survived unbroken.[3]

It, however, remains true that the progress of Western

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1. H. S. Reid, Indian Civil Service, Report on the State of Indigenous Education and Vernacular Schools, p.139-40 The Bengal Hurkaru, May 8, 1849; F. Shore, Notes on Indian Affairs, Vol.II, p.5; H. Whitehead, Indian Problems, p.120-121

2. Reproduced in S. N. Chaturvedi, The History and Development of Rural Education in the United Provinces, p.73; the girls can be easily distinguished by their dress. Where the picture is not clear the benefit of doubt has been given to boys in counting.

3. M. Bader, Women in Ancient India, p.1.

See Chapter I, p.52-56.

education among Indian girls was slow. This is largely accounted for by the fact that the weakened Indian social fabric needed time to adjust itself to the new factor of British political supremacy. Further, unlike England, education was not accompanied by the opening of fresh avenues of employment to women; and India was too poor to afford a luxury which at first brought with it only expensive tastes without the money to support them. But this lack of economic incentive, if it slowed down the progress of education among girls, also kept India free from the sex-antagonism that disfigured the British Feminist Movement.

Men of India did not oppose the instruction of women and girls; in most cases they neither had the means to promote it nor did they feel the need for it. At first they welcomed the opening of Girls' Schools. Even orthodox Hindus like Raja Radhakant Deb, who were opposed to such a humanitarian reform as the abolition of Sati, gave the schools their valuable support. He even wrote a treatise in favour of female education and examined girls at the examinations which were periodically held at his house.[1] The lower classes, where it entailed no economic sacrifice on them,

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1. The Calcutta School Book Society, First Report Appendix No.11.
Sivanath Sastri, Life of Ram Tanu Lahiri, p.117
J. Richey, Selections from the Educational Records of the Government of India, Part II, p.36.

were also anxious to send their girls to the schools. The reception given to Miss Cooke was probably typical of the Indian reaction to these Schools and may therefore be quoted here at length from a contemporary source:[1.]

> "Whilst engaged in studying the Bengali language, and scarcely daring to hope that an immediate opening for entering upon the work to which she had devoted herself, would be found, Miss Cooke paid a visit to one of the native schools for boys, in order to observe the pronunciation; and this circumstance, trifling as it might appear, led to the opening of her first school in Thunthuniya. Unaccustomed to see a European lady in that part of the native town, a crowd collected round the door of the School, amongst them was an interesting-looking girl, whom the School Pundit drove away; Miss Cooke desired the child to be called, asked her if she wished to learn to read. She was told in reply, that this child had for three months past been daily begging to be permitted to learn to read with the boys, and that if Miss Cooke (who had made known her purpose of devoting herself to the instruction of native girls) would attend next day, twenty girls should be collected. Accompanied by a female friend conversant with the language, she repeated her visit on the morrow, and found fifteen girls, several of whom had their mothers with them. Their natural inquisitiveness prompted them to enquire, what could be Miss Cooke's motive for coming amongst them? They were told that 'She had heard in England that the women of their country were kept in total ignorance..... and the chief obstacle to their improvement was that no females would undertake to teach them; she had therefore felt compassion for them, and had left her country, her parents and friends to help them.' The mothers with one voice cried out, (smiting themselves with their right hands) 'O what a pearl of a woman is this!'.... 'Our children are yours. We give them to you'..... one of them asked 'What will be the use of learning to our girls and what

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1. The Church Missionary Society Report 1822, p.108-9
Church Missionary Register, 1822, p.484.

good will it do them?' She was told 'it would make them more useful in their families, and increase their knowledge .... to gain them respect, and produce harmony in their families. 'True,' said one of them, 'our husbands now look upon us as little better than brutes.' Another asked, 'What benefit will you derive from this work'? She was told, 'the only return wished for was to promote their best interest and happiness.' Then said the woman, 'I suppose this is a holy work, and well pleasing to God.' As they were not able to understand much, it was only said in return 'that God was always pleased that His servants should do good to their fellow creatures.' The women then spoke to each other in terms of the highest approbation."

The above extract shows the very human way in which Miss Cooke was received. The presence of a European woman in that part of the town was strange and naturally drew a crowd round her of Indian women. They were naturally inquisitive and asked her the reason for her visit. The explanation offered by Miss Cooke allayed any rising suspicions and they acclaimed the nobility and disinterestedness of her motives. Further exchange of ideas was not possible because of Miss Cooke's insufficient knowledge of the Bengali language. The novelty of the project was attractive to Indian women and they were willing to send their daughters to her Schools for a small consideration. The Report of the Church Missionary Society for 1822 goes on to record, "The development of Miss Cooke's plans seems to have prevented much suspicion from being entertained as to her motives, and the effects of her intercourse with the children; for since then, petitions have been presented from time to time, from

different quarters of the native town, so that eight schools have been already established and more might have been begun had time allowed."[1].

This state of affairs, however, did not last long. Gradually, as the proselytising character of education became apparent, the Indians grew suspicious. One withdrew his daughter from the School. She was only returned after Miss Cooke had signed a declaration promising to make no claims upon the child in future on the grounds of having instructed her; her parents were promised full liberty to take her away when they chose.[2]. This mistrust of missionary schools was general and typical of the period.[3]. It spread to the upper classes.

Their early enthusiasm cooled down though the more enlightened among the orthodox Indians still continued to seek the co-operation of the Missionaries. Raja Radhakant Deb no longer held the annual examinations of Girls' Schools at his residence. Others, however, hoped to persuade the Missionaries not to mix instruction with evangelisation. Thus

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1. The Church Missionary Society Report 1822, p.108.
2. Ibid, p.109.
   The Church Missionary Record 1822, p.484.
3. J. Long. A Handbook of Bengal Mission, p.421. Calcutta Christian Advocate Nov.16,1839, p.239. The effect was precisely the same at Cochin (Madras Presidency). The introduction of New Testament in the Girls' School, which at first was very popular, resulted in numbers dropping from ninety-six to twenty. (See Missionary Intelligence, No.V, March 1821, p.14.)

Raja Baidnath Roy gave a handsome donation of twenty thousand rupees for Mrs. Wilson's proposed Central School.[1] She was also admitted on friendly terms to the Rani's house, where she instructed her in English. The Rani even paid a visit to her school and expressed her satisfaction with the work. But later the Raja withdrew from public life and it was no longer possible for Mrs. Wilson to visit the Rani.[2]

The rich orthodox Indians offered both moral and material support to the movement.[3] But effective and genuine co-operation was only possible on a basis of non-interference with religion. The matter was very clearly put by B. Joy Kisson Muckgy (Mookerjee) in his letter to Mrs. Mundy. He pointed out that only when prejudice against female education was broken down would the moment be appropriate to introduce the religious controversy.[4] This was, of course, not acceptable to the Missionaries. But without this safeguard against

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1. J. Richey, Selections from the Educational Records of the Government of India, Part II, p.38
2. P. Chapman, Hindu Female Education, p.87-88
3. For Madras, See C. J. E. Rhenius, Memoirs, p.470
4. B. P. Noel, Sermon on Female Education, April 28th, 1836, Letter from B. Joy Kisson Muckjee to Mrs. Mundy, dated Chinsurah, Sept. 17, 1835, requesting her to accept a donation of eight rupees to provide winter clothing for her girls: "Without presuming to advise, I beg to offer the following observations for your consideration, that providing it is the practice at present to give these girls religious instruction, will it not be better at this early stage, considering the deep-rooted prejudices of the natives against anything feminine, to educate them without teaching any particular religion. There are many advantages to this plan - these girls, when grown up, will be freely admitted in all native families and be the means

religious interference, they would go no further and scrupulously kept their own women relations from attending the Missionary Schools.[1] After the prohibition of Sati, the movement for social reform weakened, and this orthodox section of Indian opinion made few organised efforts to promote girls' education.

Meanwhile another class of Indians had arisen whose contribution was more significant. Numerically it was not so large; nor did it command the financial resources of the rich Zemindars. It was the product of the Boys' English Schools. The first batch of Hindu College students passed out in 1829 and from that year onwards their numbers grew. They were inspired by Western ideas and ideals. The first impact of Western civilisation was an uncritical acceptance of the social habits of the European community in India. They ate meat and drank wine in public to show that they were 'emancipated' and no longer held in awe age-old customs.[2]

(Footnote continued from previous page): of educating the higher class of females. Your circle of benevolence will be extended by the addition of little girls of respectable families. When their parents see the blessings of education bestowed without interfering with their tenets, a more liberal feeling towards feminine education will begin to prevail among the respectable classes. Then, and not till then, the subject of religion ought to be introduced among them.."

The pamphlet continues: "This plan could not of course, be adopted by those whose main object it is to impart the knowledge of Christ. But the letter is interesting as the testimony of a native to the value of female education and its result "

1. K. M. Bannerjee, Essay on Female Education, p.23
2. Siva Nath Sastri, Life of Ram Tanu Lahiri, p.69, quoting from Kartick Chandra Roy's Autobiography. "That wine is an

Their excesses outraged the more orthodox Indians as well as the milder social reformers, who withdrew into their shells as they felt helpless to deal with the youngsters, protected as they were by their European patrons.[1.] No doubt this brought Western learning into disrepute and hardened the opposition, albeit passive, of the mass of Indians. The reaction against the new learning might have been stronger but for two things: the economic need of earning their living by the middle-classes and the sensible and more moderate attitude taken up by others educated on similar lines.[2.] Perhaps it is from this time that education comes so prominently to be associated with extravagance in the Indian mind. Looking at Young Bengal,[3.] the first fruit of English education, the 'uneducated' Indians breathed a sigh

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(Footnote continued from previous page): abomination, and that drinking it is a great sin, has been the belief of this country but we cannot but condemn this belief as erroneous. Can the practice, so common among the most intelligent and civilised nations of the world be anything but highly salutary, and therefore commendable? How shall we Indians be civilised, and how shall our country be free from the tyrannical sway of error and superstition, if we abstain from wine?"

1. Siva Nath Sastri, Life of Ram Tanu Lahiri, p.69

2. Ronald Shay, The Heart of Aryavrata, p.47-8.

3. "Young Bengal is generally a Calcutta Babu - a young man of course - with a smattering of English which he fails not to dignify with the name of solid learning.... He is an ultra fashionable in dress. The cordiality with which he performs his devoirs at the toilette would do credit even to a Quaker beauty of the last century.... instead of confining himself to the European wardrobe, he must needs rummage that of his quondam Governors and oppressors and lay it also under contribution.... In his table, he is as nice as in his apparel

(Contd.)

of relief that they had not brought up their daughters too on the new ideas. They could do little to curb the excesses of their sons except to satirize their ways in the newspapers and see that their ideas did not reach the women.

On the other hand these English-educated youths seem to have done little directly to reach the women. No doubt they advocated female education loudly and unanimously[1] and sighed for English-speaking wives. Proud and self-centred, they seem to have realized the immensity of the task and given it up as hopeless. The limited resources they possessed were barely sufficient to maintain the facade of a European standard of living, so that they could spare little to finance girls' schools.[2] There was some truth in the sneer that they could talk but not act.

Perhaps this was just as well. The youth of Bengal could

(Footnote continued from previous page): and equally amphibious. Beef... is with him an unparalleled delicacy.... In health who is so mighty as our hero? No sooner he applies the cup brimful to his lips than you find its bottom parallel to the ceiling... in common parlance he would most unceremoniously drag poor Shakespeare and Milton from their repose and misquote the most familiar passages... With all these extraordinary qualifications, he appears in print and rising on stilts harangues his countrymen, making a parade of his learning and setting forth in flowing terms his own importance as a reformer of the times... ever attentive to his own pleasures and pecuniary interests, he is reckless of the means he resorts to, to come by them. Money and sensual delights are the goddess of his idolatry; to them only he bows and for them he is ready to do everything.... He eats beef, cracks whole bottles of Cognac at Spence's or Wilson's but as soon as he makes his appearance in native society, he is as it were metamorphosed into a new being. He is then a pattern to the most thorough-going Hindu." (Quoted from "The Citizen", Tuesday, July 8th, 1851.)

1. Oriental Christian Spectator, 1838,p.134; K. M. Bannerjee:
2. See over. (Contd.)

not live for ever in the air. After the first excesses were over the "backwardness" of the women compelled a reorientation and made a return to normality possible earlier than would otherwise have been the case.

There was a positive side too, to the spread of English education among the boys. Not all those who received a European education developed similarly and some took a much more balanced view of the situation. The excesses received publicity; sober thought remained in the background. Once the sensation caused by flouting ancient customs was over, the latter section was bound to assume greater prominence, and so it did. Nor were the discussions on female education in the Debating Societies entirely futile. No doubt to-day some of the ingenious arguments they used to support it may bring a smile to our lips,[1] but it should be acknowledged

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(Continued from previous page: Footnote 1. K. M. Bannerjee, Essay on Native Female Education. Footnote 2. Contrast this with the Movement in Bombay, See p.305-6)

1. B. W. Noel, Sermon on Female Education, April 1st, 1836,p.41 quoting Dr. Duff. Another said that "he would prove by Geometry that females ought to be educated. It turned out to be a somewhat vague and fanciful application of one of the axioms of Euclid, and hence designated a geometrical argument." The argument ran as follows: "It is conceded that men ought to be educated and not the cocoa trees because men have got souls or minds and trees have not. And men's souls are susceptible of growth and consequently can be cultivated or in other words ought to be educated. But the orthodox and even the Shastras believe that females have souls and if so they must, like the souls of men, be capable of growth and cultivation. Hence because 'things that are equal to the same thing are equal to one another' I conclude that females ought to be educated."
Nor were these absurdities confined to enthusiastic Indians. Sometimes the missionaries also displayed an excessive zeal. Thus the Rev. J. Braidwood mentions an essay-competition. "Most

(Ctd.)

that they were sincere in their convictions.[1] Some of them even formed a secret Society for instructing privately their female relations.[2] They wrote articles in newspapers pressing upon the readers the urgency of instructing their women, and even criticised a Raja for wasting two thousand rupees on horse-racing while such a desirable cause remained unpatronised.[3] Such articles in the Indian vernacular Press on social questions like female education were in the main directly inspired by young Bengal. Either they were written by them in favour of social reform, or by those who opposed their ideas.[4] In both cases they served to draw public attention to the subject. More important still was their work in connection with the creation of a Bengali literature. They had drunk deeply of the stream of European literature and they strove to translate

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(Footnote continued from previous page): of the essays submitted to criticism were written on Female Education and hence the frequent reference to the females." Amidst a lot of "confused and ill-digested theologies", these essays contained a realisation of the degraded state of Hindu women and praised the missionaries for "rescuing" them. To bring home to the boys the full importance of the subject, the essays were read one by one and subjected to the criticism of those present. This discussion went on almost ceaselessly from 9 o'clock in the morning to 10 o'clock at night! To quote the Rev. J. Braidwood's own words: "The evening had now considerably advanced and a little impatience was shown on the part of a few. This you will not be surprised at, when you are informed that many of them had been with us since nine in the morning, and some of them had got no food since they had left their homes at a distance, in order to attend at that early hour. In the midst of a little noise of this kind Ettirujooloo stood upon a bench, and thus began...." (Letter from the Rev. J. Braidwood dated Madras, August 21st, 1841 printed on a sheet to be found in the Church of Scotland Missionary Record. Vol.II in Tolbooth Church Library, Edinburgh) Were there any means of finding out, it would be interesting to know how many of these boys

(Ctd. 1, 2, 3, 4: See next page.

its best works into Bengali. The study of English gave a great impetus to the development of t he Bengali language. Drama was revived and new rhymes and metres were introduced into Bengali poetry. There was now a literature for the women to delve into and hence literacy was of considerable advantage.[5] As the love of reading spread, young men began to demand educated wives. This in turn led to a demand for increased facilities for the education of women.[6] This desire was genuine and was not fostered by any ideas of economic return.

The ground had thus been prepared but nothing more tangible had come out of all the talks and debates than the instruction of a few more women by males within the homes.[7] Young Bengal which showed the greatest enthusiasm for female education could hardly give the lead. Utopian and unpractical, their excesses had alienated the bulk of Indian society.

(Footnote continued from previous page): grew up to be zealous advocates of girls' education! These extracts provide the period touch and help to indicate the background in which the education of girls was being promoted and conducted.

1.(Previous page) B. W. Noel, Sermon on Female Education, 1st April, 1836, p.41. M. Wylie, Bengal as a Field of Missions, p.149
2. George Smith, Life of Alexander Duff, p.195
3. Bhaskar and Puranchandroday.
4. Calcutta Christian Advocate, March 1840, p.389-91
M. Wylie, Ibid, p.142

5. S. C. Duff, India Past and Present, p.164

6. Calcutta Review 1924, p.526

7. Oriental Christian Spectator, 1838, p.132

Clearly further initiative could only come from the more liberal-minded wealthy Zemindars.[1] Neither did they ignore the subject. Their organisation, the British India Society, appointed a Committee in 1845 to report on the state of "Native Female Education".[2] Naturally they proceeded cautiously for fear of being assailed both from the Left and the Right while the attitude of the Government remained uncertain. Bethune's speech at the opening ceremony of his School which foreshadowed Government support for female education seems to have given the signal for this group to stir. Plans for the establishment of a Girls' School which had been under consideration for over four years now took a more definite shape. Three months after the foundation of Bethune School the Zemindars of Ooterparah addressed a letter to the Bengal Council of Education detailing a plan for the establishment of a school for "respectable"girls and requesting it to share the expenses.[3]

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1. The Bengal Hurkaru, May 8th, 1849.
2. Ibid. February 6th, 1845; Scottish Ladies' Association Report, 1845, p.20.
3. Bengal Council of Education Report 1848-49, p.xxviii. Letter from Baboos Joy Kissen and Raj Kissen Mookerjee, dated Aug.1849, to the Council of Education: "Relying upon the hopes of assistance held out by the Council in your letter No. 46 dated 11th June, 1845, we have been enabled at last to mature our plan for female education and have now the pleasure to submit the following proposal for the favourable consideration of the Council of Education.

"It has been observed by persons who have ably discussed the subject that insuperable obstacles exist in the way of educating the females of India until some great change takes place in the social condition of the country, and the utter impossibility is maintained of imparting education to the females of the respectable portion of the community under the peculiar manners, customs,

(Ctd.)

Unfortunately when the application came before the Council, Bethune advised it to do nothing until the results of his School became more apparent. The Council, therefore, while commending the action of the Mookerjees, informed them that it was "premature and inexpedient.... on grounds of financial stringency to sanction this new expenditure."[1]. This was a grave mistake and the Government erred in being over-cautious. If it wanted to encourage female education, it was hardly the best thing to pour cold water over the first spontaneous Indian effort.

(Footnote continued from previous page): and habits of the people of India.

"The education of females of India, however, has not yet gone through that ordeal of actual experiment, which would enable us to form a fair criterion of the value of opinions expressed unfavourably to a subject of such importance.

"Many respectable people of this neighbourhood concur with us in thinking that if an experimental school for the education of female children should be established here under the patronage of Government, it may, if successful, eventually lead to the establishment of others all over the country. We therefore beg to propose to place in the hands of Government landed property yielding a clear monthly income of sixty rupees, provided the Government will pay a like sum for the furtherance of the object - the cost of building will be about two thousand rupees, which shall be equally borne by the Government and ourselves.

"We will also give a suitable piece of land for the erection of a school-house.

"We beg to subjoin a list of monthly expenditure prepared after due enquiries for the information of Government. We need hardly add that, to ensure success, the proposed institution should not only be free of expense to the pupils, but also the whole of the things worked by them should be given them gratis, independent of prizes, which particular individuals may earn by their own exertions. The course of studies should be confined exclusively to reading and writing the Bengalee language, painting, drawing and needlework, with this proviso, that (Ctd.)

1. Report of the Council of Education Bengal, 1848-49, p.xxix.

However, this was not the end of Indian hopes and others proposed a compromise measure. Some Indians with the aid of the District Magistrate, Mr. Trevor, had maintained for some years a school at Baraset for boys of "respectable parentage" who were too poor to afford the fees of the Government School. The Committee of Management now proposed to abandon this School and open a female school instead, on the condition that the Council of Education would let it nominate sixty boys to the Government School at half the regulated fee, and would employ the same master to teach the new class that would thus be added to it.[1] The Council accepted this proposal as it was not thereby directly committing itself to the promotion of female education. The abolition and transfer took place in January 1850, and the new arrangement was to continue until the Indian Committee conducted "the female School to the

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(Footnote continued from previous page): English education should be imparted to such of the pupils whose parents or guardians may desire it by written application."

(List of Monthly Expenditure):

	Rupees
1 Head European Mistress	80
1 Old Dundit	15
1 Female Servant	4
1 Male "	4
Books and Stationery	7
Working material, such as wool, cotton and paint, &c.	10
	Rs. 120

Note: A note in ink in the Report says that this letter could not be traced by the Government of Bengal in 1930.

1. Report of the Council of Education Bengal 1849-50, p.4-5

satisfaction of the Council. The Council further noted the fact that the example of Baraset had been followed by the establishment of similar schools at "Neebodhia, Bansbaria and some other villages" though it had not received a formal request for assistance. It expressed the hope that the example would be "speedily" followed by educated Indians elsewhere but advised "much caution, temper, forbearance, and prudence... necessary in the conduct of such institutions."[1]

The success of his School and the encouragement it gave to the Indians to follow his example led Bethune to draw up a Minute to the Governor-General reporting upon the progress of female education. In his opinion the time had come for the Government to declare openly that it looked upon female education with a "favourable eye" especially as its attitude was being misrepresented by the opponents of the cause.[2] He requested the Governor-General to inform the Council of Education "to consider its functions as comprising also the superintendence of Native Female Education.... to give them all possible encouragement and to further their plans in every way.... not inconsistent with the efficiency of the institutions already under their management." Further, the Government of Bengal should be requested to instruct its Magistrates to protect those who were persecuted or intimidated in forwarding

1. Report of the Council of Education of Bengal 1849-50, p.5
2. J. Richey, Selections from the Records of the Government of India Part II, p.54.

this work which the Government considered "so beneficial." He also solicited the Governor-General to use his influence with the Court of Directors to induce the Queen to allow her name to be given to his School.[1.]

The Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, was very sympathetic to Bethune's scheme. Indeed he had been interested in the education of Indian women even before his arrival in the country. As early as 1839 he had been requested by the then newly-formed Scottish Ladies' Association for the Promotion of Female Education in India to preside at their Annual General Meeting in Edinburgh.[2.] He laid Bethune's letter with his complete approval before his Council and invited their opinion.[3.] The Council unanimously supported the Governor-General with the exception of Major-General Sir J. H. Littler who thought that such interference would be interpreted as a breach of the pledge of religious neutrality.[4.] He further feared that "a smattering of English would lead them (the girls) to immoral habits"![5.]

Lord Dalhousie, thereupon instructed the Council of Education to include female education within its purview. He also directed the Chief Civil Officers of the Mofussil..."to use all means at their disposal for encouraging those institutions.[6.]

1. J. Richey, Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Part II, p.55
2. Female Education in India Association's Minute Book, February 20th, 1839.
3. J. Richey, Ibid, p.56
4. Ibid, p.57.
5. Ibid, p.62
6. Ibid, p.59-60

The Council lost no time in implementing the wishes of the Governor-General and made his sentiments known to the institutions under its management. It especially invited the co-operation of all those connected with the Department of Education to promote this object.[1.]

The Directors generally approved of these proceedings and advised "great caution and prudence" in issuing instructions to the District Officers. They also refused to give the Queen's name to the School as in their opinion the state of female education "did not warrant the unusual proceeding of applying for the sanction of Her Majesty's name."[2.]

The early death of Bethune in 1851 deprived the School of the support of its founder but solved the problem of naming the School. There could be no finer tribute to his memory than to call the School after him. Almost his last act had been to bequeathe his fortune to his school.[3.]

Lord and Lady Dalhousie also stepped in and promised to support the School during their tenure of office. Before they left India, they put the School on a firm foundation by persuading the Directors to take over its maintenance.[4.] When, however, the latter proposed to levy a school-fee, Dalhousie

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1. Report of the Council of Education Bengal, 1850, p.3
2. J. Richey, Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Part II, p.61
3. Journal of Royal Society of Arts, March 1888, p.500.
4. Ibid, p.435; J. Richey, Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Part II, p.62

was not slow to point out the "doubtful expediency" of the measure jeopardising "the successful accomplishment of the design of the benevolent founder of the institution,"[1]. and the idea was dropped.[2].

In the other two Presidencies the changes were not so spectacular. There was no figure among the Government officials of Bethune's stature who was equally interested in female education. John Wilson, forwarding information to Lord Elphinstone the Governor of Madras, on the "state of native education" had earlier drawn his attention to the fact that "the honour of instituting the first Government female school in India was still unappropriated."[3]. But the Government remained unmoved. Even the establishment of Bethune School had little effect. The Governor-General's Minute was circulated as a matter of form, but the local Government does not seem to have taken any steps to give effect to its provisions.

Bombay was not very different. In 1851 one of the Secretaries to the Bombay Government did no more than publish a letter saying that where the Indians desired it, the Government institutions were to embrace female education.[4]. The Government, however, gave some encouragement by awarding a title to an Indian specifically for promoting female education.[5]

1. J. Richey, Selections from the Educational Records of the Government of India, Part II, p.62
2. For further history of Bethune School See Chapter VII, p.481-5
3. George Smith, Life of John Wilson, p.259
4. Parliamentary Papers 1852-53, Vol.XXIX,p.155,11th Aug.1853
   Ibid 1860, Vol.LII, p.251
5. J. Richey, Selections from the Educational Records of the Government of India, Part II,p.388

But it neither opened a School, nor, as yet, gave any financial assistance.

If the Governments of Madras and Bombay did not display much zeal in encouraging the instruction of girls, the Indians displayed greater initiative and activity. Information on the subject is necessarily scanty and it is appropriate to quote without further comment, the letter of the Reverend William Grant to Mr. Nelson dated 8th April, 1847 which gives a vivid impression of the Movement at Madras[1].

> "I am sure it will afford pleasure to the friends of Hindu female education to learn that the principle of its being right to educate girls is gaining ground here among the Hindus themselves.....
> "A young man, a Hindu employed in one of the public offices, called yesterday to show me an account in one of the newspapers of the examination of a School for Hindu girls, supported and taught by natives exclusively. The School, it seems, was commenced by himself and another young man some time in the year 1844. It was examined on Sabbath last - all connected with it being heathens. There were about 50 girls present, and all were of high caste. They were from five to ten years of age, none being received or allowed to remain after the latter age, as they are then considered marriageable. They are taught their native tongue 'Telugri' only. The younger pupils were examined in reading, in synonyms, 'moral stories', arithmetic and writing from dictation. The highest class was examined in Methesemgrahum (morals), veeramarca (tales), and some other departments, and their answers are said, in the report, to have excited the surprise of those present.....
> "One girl drew much attention by doing eight things at the same time - Astavadanum.
> "I am informed after making enquiry, that there are four schools for girls in Madras, supported solely by natives. Besides the above, one of the remaining three has 30 pupils. What numbers attend the other two I have not been able to ascertain. Some of the wealthier Hindus have private teachers, who come so many hours a day to educate their daughters at home, just as is very generally

1. Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland, Vol. IV, p.96

done in Britain.

> "The same man brought me for correction a manuscript letter, intended for insertion in one of the newspapers, on the subject of female education. The object was to rouse his countrymen to the benefits of such education, and to answer their objections....."

Moreover in certain parts of the Madras Presidency, the matriarchal (descent through the female line) form of Society still prevailed. These women traditionally enjoyed more freedom and were taught to read and write much in the same way as boys. Nair women in particular, took readily even to English education. Thus Otto Rothfeld of the Indian Civil Service observes: "In no class in India is education better appreciated and more widely shared by the sexes. Every Nair girl is sent to the village school, her education as much a matter of course as her brother's, while there are many who have matriculated at the Madras University."[1]. The latter part of the quotation of course refers to a later period but illustrates the general tendency.

However, it was in Bombay that the most interesting effort to promote female education by Indians themselves was made. There the formation of the Education Board in 1840 had relegated female education to private enterprise.[2]. The only private institutions for the instruction of girls were the Bombay Education Society's Schools for Boys and Girls and a handful of missionary schools.[3]. Neither the Government nor

1. Otto Rothfeld, Women of India, p.50
2. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol.III,p.108
3. Ibid.

the Missionaries had been as active in Bombay as in the other two Presidencies. But this handicap was offset by the greater agility of the Indian Community there. Whereas the genius of Bengal was dreamy and literary, that of Bombay was Commercial and practical. The Parsees and Jains formed flourishing commercial communities, and, though not so advanced then as they have since become, were more flexible and more receptive to new ideas. The Hindu community, too, was more progressive than elsewhere. Thus Maratha women were freer than their sisters in other parts of India. They moved in society with greater liberty and did not labour under the handicap of Pardah (seclusion).[1].

These temperamental and social differences put the movement for female education in Bombay on a more stable basis. Unlike the students of Hindu College, those of Elphinstone College were not content to ape European manners and confine the instruction of the other half of the population to the home. They remained far more balanced and moderate than the Calcutta students. They saw the need for carrying the women with them if the new ideas were to take root. Hence even though Bombay did not produce a spectacular counterpart to Young Bengal, its educated men did more for female education. Indeed, so advanced were their ideas on the subject that a

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1. Scottish Ladies' Association Report 1839, p.4

Calcutta Missionary journal deemed it necessary to sound a note of warning.[1] Under the inspiration of Professors Patton and Reid, "the students, ex-students and assistant teachers" of Elphinstone College, formed the Students' Literary and Scientific Society in 1848 with the object of diffusing knowledge among women and girls.[2] They sought to achieve their object by reading and discussing essays, forming Marathi and Gujerati Book Committees to publish suitable text-books, establishing Branch Societies, Libraries and Museums and last but not least, by opening schools for girls.[3]

This was no doubt an ambitious programme but the promoters showed a real grasp of the situation. More than the Government or the Missionaries, they realised that the problem of female education had to be tackled comprehensively. It was not enough to make the girls literate; they must be kept literate by means of libraries and museums. A further proof of their

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1. Calcutta Christian Observer, November 1841, p.711-12. "We fear that educated natives (and in this we are more than borne out by the Bombay essayists), have by far a too high opinion of 'petticoated philosophers'. They seem to delight in the anticipation of the day when some of their countrywomen shall become as good astronomers as Mrs. Somerville, or political writers as Miss Martineau. Did they know a little more of the world, they would find that such learned ladies do not generally make the best wives and mothers... No, no, let not the females of India be encouraged to throw away the distaff for the flower of Parnassus, nor even their cooking utensils for the Principia of Newton. Let them attain as a body even to mediocrity in learning, but to excelling in piety and virtue, then the great purpose of female education will be accomplished."

2. Bombay Gazetteer Vol.III, p.108; Bombay Provincial Education Committee Report, 1884, Vol.II Memorials, p.21-23; Ibid, Appendix, p.104. Also notice the influence of Utilitarians as implied in the name of the Society.

3. Mary Carpenter, Six Months in India, Vol.II, p.25

practical ability lies in their consciousness of their own limitations. Like the students of Hindu College, they were poor. But whereas lack of financial resources was a sufficient excuse for Calcutta youths to talk louder and do less, it had just the opposite effect on the students of Elphinstone College. They realized that their modest resources would not go very far and even these they could not afford to risk while the Schools remained in the experimental stage. Hence they practised the strictest economy and reduced the need for money to a minimum. They persuaded kind friends to place rooms in convenient localities at their disposal free of charge. Here members of the Society instructed girls free from seven to nine every morning.[1.] No doubt the time was not the most convenient for girls but there was no alternative. It had to be before business hours so that rooms could be acquired free. Besides, as most of the instructors were themselves either masters in the Elphinstone Institution or stipendary scholars at the College, they could only teach before their own lectures began.

Despite the odd hours and some opposition[2.] the Schools became very popular. In a short time there were nine such Free Vernacular Female Schools with 654 girls receiving instruction therein.[3.] Some of the advanced pupils in missionary schools left them to join the new schools as monitors.[4]

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1. Bombay Provincial Education Committee Report 1884, Vol.II, p.21-23
2. The Girl and Her Tutor: An Indian attack upon the European system of Education. The language used in this pamphlet is so strong that the British Museum has found it necessary to censor it in places!
3. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol.III, p.108. 4. See over.

When their success seemed assured and as other engagements pressed on the time of the voluntary instructors, the need for paid teachers and regular Day Schools became apparent. Their pioneering work had shown that girls' Schools could succeed if run on proper lines. Four Parsis made anonymously a handsome donation to the School funds. Other Indians and Europeans sympathetic to the cause came forward with subscriptions, enabling the Students' Society to establish regular Day Schools under paid teachers in different localities.

The Bombay Government recorded their just appreciation of the Movement in these words: "The spontaneous institution, by the same young men, of female schools, which they also entirely support, must be regarded as an epoch in the history of education at this Presidency from which it is to be hoped will, in due time, be traced the commencement of a rapid, marked and constant progress.[1]." Government and Missionary influence alike being weaker in education,[2] this secular indigenous movement demonstrated beyond doubt that the instruction of their women was genuinely desired by Indians.[3] The Bombay students set an example to be followed by Indians elsewhere.[4]

This movement spread to other parts of the Presidency,

(Footnote 4, from previous page: Established Church of Scotland, Ladies' Association Report 1850, p.19)

1. Mary Carpenter, Six Months in India, Vol.II, p.28
2. Established Church of Scotland Ladies' Association Report, 1853, p.25-6
3. J. Mullens, Ten Years of Missionary Labour in India, p.144
4. R. Lethbridge, Higher Education in India, p.56

and girls' schools were opened at Poona and Ahmedabad[1] in particular. In spite of these encouraging signs the Government did not stir. The Honourable Mr. Warden suggested that part of the Government grant might be appropriated to the Girls' Schools, but "the general feeling at the Board seems to be that we should leave well alone."[2] But it was perhaps this unequivocal demonstration of the desire for female education that led the Government to pursue a more active policy in Bombay than in either of the other Presidencies in the second half of the nineteenth century.

This chapter has sketched the gradual evolution of Governmental policy towards female education and has also shown the growth of Indian interest in the matter. Unfamiliar with the idea of a Social Service State, over scrupulous in the observance of its policy of religious neutrality, uncertain of its knowledge of the country and unwilling to arouse fears and prejudices which might even vaguely threaten its political supremacy, the East India Company pursued a slow and cautious policy towards the education of Indian girls. Nevertheless, individual officials often gave the cause their valuable support and by the middle of the nineteenth century a Girls' School imparting secular instruction only and supported by one of them had been established. The fact that the Bethune

1. J. Richey, Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Part II, p.51; Indian Education Commission Report 1883, p.14.
2. J. Richey, Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Part II, p.51

School was maintained by the President of the Council of Education, and on his death, by the Governor-General himself, left the people in no doubt as to the sympathetic attitude of the Government.

Encouraged by this example, Indians, especially the English-educated urban middle-class, directed their attention to the instruction of their women. The enthusiasm of these young men sometimes overstepped their discretion and they were not always successful in giving their ideas practical shape. But their efforts in this direction, especially at Bombay, met with appreciable success though the general poverty of the country and the social prejudices of the people still hindered them. The Indians' suspicion of the missionaries, and the unimaginativeness of the Government in not backing Indian efforts at the right moments, rendered mutual co-operation between the three of them incomplete and imperfect. In consequence girls' education made slow progress.

Yet, by the middle of the nineteenth century it was clearly past the experimental stage. Its need and probable success had both been demonstrated by all concerned, the missionaries, the Government officials in their private capacities, and the progressive Indians. Time was now ripe for the Government to give the movement some direction by making a bold declaration of policy. Standing aside as a spectator, however sympathetic, was no longer excusable. The Government

seems to have realised its responsibility and egged on by Duff[1]. and Dalhousie tacked a clause dealing with Girls' Schools to the famous Wood Despatch of 1854.[2]. The Home Government promised to give female education its "frank and cordial support" for "by this means a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men."[3]. As a token of its sincerity it extended the grants-in-aid principle to embrace Girls' Schools,[4]. and set aside a sum of five thousand rupees for this purpose.[5].

Neither of these concessions meant much when applied to the practical realities of the situation. True it was a remarkable declaration, when similar pronouncements on education in contemporary England were prone to ignore women and girls. But a declaration, however loud and clear, could by itself establish no new schools, unless backed by a strong will

1. W. Paton, Alexander Duff, p.159
2. J. Richey, Selections from the Educational Records of the Government of India, Part II, p.388. The full text of Paragraph 83 dealing with female education runs as follows:"The importance of female education in India cannot be over-rated; and we have observed with pleasure the evidence which is now afforded of an increased desire on the part of many of the natives of India to give a good education to their daughters. By this means a greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men. We have already observed that schools for females are included among those to which grants-in-aid may be given and we cannot refrain from expressing our cordial sympathy with
(Contd. over)
3. Sharp and Richey: Selections from Educational Records Part II Bureau of Education, India Despatch of 1854, p.388. Para.83
4. Ibid, Paragraph 57, p.380
5. Report of the Indian Education Commission 1883, p.599

to translate good intentions into concrete forms. As subsequent chapters will show, this will was generally lacking. Nor could many Girls' Schools take advantage of grants-in-aid under the strict rules laid down for their allocation.

These were to be given on the basis of strict religious neutrality to schools imparting "a good secular education" under suitable "local control."[1] It was in some ways a fair and just provision. The Government could not be expected to subsidise theological controversies which might or might not improve the mind. Its duty lay in seeing that women received suitable general instruction. But religious neutrality should have been interpreted by the Government to imply not indifference to but equal toleration of all religions. Girls' education could only secure general acceptance on a religious basis. Insistence on its secular character made it seem somewhat artificial to Indians. The Missionary Societies, too, having obtained private subscriptions from their members on the understanding of giving religious instruction, sometimes

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(Footnote continued from previous page: the efforts which are being made in this direction. Our Governor-General in Council has declared in a communication to the Government of Bengal that the Government ought to give to native female education in India its frank and cordial support; in this we heartily concur and we especially approve of the bestowal of marks of honour upon such native gentlemen as Rao Bahadur Maghuabhai Karramchand, who devoted twenty thousand rupees to the foundation of two female schools in Ahmedabad, as by such means our desire for the extension of female education becomes generally known.")

1. General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, 1855, p.ix, paragraph 1.

found it difficult to take advantage of the Government's offer.[1]

Grants-in-aid were further made conditional upon the payment of fees. The attendance and progress of pupils were taken into consideration but in no circumstances was the Government grant to exceed the expenditure from private sources.[2] This clause acted as a deterrent. As seen earlier, there had been some change in public opinion in favour of educating women, but customs die hard and as yet there were few signs that Indians would be willing to make financial sacrifices for a cause that promised no economic returns. A country whose average annual income per head was only twenty-seven rupees could ill afford any expenditure on the instruction of women which, in the circumstances, appeared a useless luxury. The limited resources of the parents had to bear the additional burden of the dowry system. As custom and religion both required every girl to be married, the poor parents could not do both; pay for the schooling of their daughters and provide their marriage dowries. Early marriage reduced the duration of a girl's attendance at school but even before that stage was reached, the demand for her services in the domestic sphere necessarily curtailed her schooling.

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1. The Church of Scotland Female Education Society Minutes Book, 31st March, 1866. Reinforced the resolution not to accept grants-in-aid. Ibid, October 17th, 1870. Permitted grants-in-aid to be accepted "individually as the cases arise." Indian Education Commission Report 1883,p.32,35
2. General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency 1855. Report of the Director, paragraph vi.

Therefore it was doubly necessary for girls' education to make progress, that it should be at least free and involve no direct drain upon the straitened purses of the parents. Only a much more liberal financial policy than that envisaged by the Government in the grants-in-aid system would have satisfied this condition.

Moreover, a school was required to furnish detailed information before becoming eligible for a grant. The Government had to be informed about the existing financial resources of the School, permanent or temporary; the number, the ages and the "average duration" of attendance of its pupils; the numbers on the staff and their salaries, and the amount of work they put in; and the type of instruction imparted in the School. Finally the managers had to furnish particulars about themselves and to indicate the length of time they were likely to continue to support the institution.[1] All this information could be checked by the Government as the schools receiving grants were subject to inspection.[2]

The need for the Government to have this information to ensure that the money was properly spent may be readily conceded. But it involved much form-filling and often teachers were averse to doing this extra work which was not strictly

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1. General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, 1855. Report of the Director, Paragraph II.

2. Ibid, Paragraph III.

educational. Girls did not always want to give correct ages and in general it was much more difficult and unpleasant to ascertain facts about them than about boys.[1.] Nor did the promoters want to commit themselves in writing to the maintenance of a particular institution for a stated period, since a Girls' School, if desirable, was certainly not regarded as necessary. In the absence of a female inspectorate[2.], the inspection clause also offered some difficulties. Women were secluded from an early age and parents were averse to have the schools inspected by men. It is strange that in the clauses specifically concerning the education of girls, no attempt was made to forestall some of these difficulties which could easily have been foreseen.

The crux of the whole matter seems to be that the Despatch was primarily concerned with the reorganisation and improvement of boys' education and therefore gave little consideration to the special problems besetting the instruction of girls in India. It was an important pronouncement in that it marked the end of the Government's vacillating policy and pledged its support to women's education. For the rest, the influence of the Despatch on female education in India was indirect, not by what was consciously prescribed

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1. See Chapter IV, p.281

2. See Chapter V, p.628-39

but by the failure to make any special provisions for girls.

This "Charter of Indian Education" articulated a regular gradation of institutions, starting from the Vernacular Schools, and passing through the Anglo-Vernacular Schools upwards to the Colleges and the Universities. Vernacular teaching formed the basis of elementary education; the English language was fixed as the medium of instruction for higher education in the Colleges and the Universities which crowned the edifice. English was to be taught wherever there was a demand for it but was not to supplant the vernaculars in the elementary instruction of the people. While the existing institutions for the teaching of classical languages were to be maintained, a great network of vernacular schools was to be laid to bring useful and practical knowledge to the masses.[1.] This was clearly a compromise between the views of "the Classicists" and of Macaulay and settled the controversy that had raged furiously for a generation eclipsing all other educational issues.

Girls' Schools, though far fewer in number, were to follow the above pattern laid down in the Despatch for boys. It was not intentional in the first instance. It was due to oversight and the failure to recognise the importance of the

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1. J. Richey, Selections from the Educational Records of the Government of India, Part II, p.364-393

subject rather than to an accepted belief in the similarity of the needs and talents of boys and girls. It might have been expected that the conditions prevailing in India would lead to a rectification of this mistake. But the British Feminist Movement, which increasingly influenced the education of Indian girls, confused the two ideas of equality and similarity. British women argued for equality by trying to prove that sex differences were negligible and that men and women were similar if not the same. The Western education of Indian women could not escape from this influence and with occasional variations, imitated girls' education in England, closely modelled as that was on boys' education. This unwillingness to adapt the curriculum and the institutions to suit the special aptitudes of women, perhaps valuable and even necessary in the expanding industrial economy of England, made such instruction seem irrelevant in the slow-moving agricultural society of India. This was at least partly responsible for slowing down the pace of Western education of Indian women.

In other respects the Despatch favoured the progress of girls' instruction. The administrative machinery which had hitherto dealt mainly with the education of boys, was henceforth to embrace girls' schools as well. Improvements in that machinery which created a separate department in every Indian Province, charged exclusively with educational matters, made the development of a more uniform policy possible and gave "India an organised

system of State education earlier than England itself."[1.]

The appointment of a Director of Public Instruction and of Inspectors of Schools in each Province had a beneficial influence on the education of Indian girls. Hitherto the official Reports on Education rarely contained information about Girls' Schools.[2.] But from 1854 onwards, the Reports of the Directors and Inspectors regularly included accounts of female education. This information was very valuable in determining the subsequent attitude of the Government. It was in the light of this information that the Government was moved to make concessions to girls' schools in the matter of grants-in-aid. Later the desirability of a female inspecting agency was also impressed upon it. Some of these developments which sprang from the Despatch will be described in the next Chapter. Meanwhile it is important to remember that this Declaration, by failing to make any special provision for girls' schools, quite unwittingly, set the pattern for their future development on the model of the boys' schools; but at the same time it secured to women's education a continuous and sustained attention which it had hitherto lacked.

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1. Lord Elton, Imperial Commonwealth, p.464
2. Reports of the Bengal Council of Education during the Presidency of Bethune contained a brief account of girls' schools. On his death in the few years preceding the Despatch, the Reports again resumed their indifference to the subject of girls' education.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES AND THE PROGRESS OF PRIMARY INSTRUCTION FOR GIRLS 1854-82

It is proposed to describe here the broad changes in the educational policies of the Government, the missionaries and the Indians and how they affected the spread of elementary instruction for girls in the Indian Provinces.

The definition of Primary schools given by the Hunter Commission (Sept 7th 1882) is accepted as being the most convenient. It described them as embracing all those pupils "who are under instruction from the earliest stage up to the standard at which secondary education begins; this standard being marked by an examination.....called the upper primary school examination."[1]

Though there were minor differences in the various Provinces, the Primary schools admit of two convenient divisions, the "lower division containing pupils preparing for.....the lower primary school examination, and the upper division consisting of pupils who have passed this standard."[2]

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1. Indian Education Commission Report 1884 P.119
2. Ibid.

The passing of the upper primary standard implied that a girl could "read at sight with fluency and intelligence a passage of ordinary difficulty from a book or newspaper in a vernacular language...Write a passage to dictation from the same.....work miscellaneous questions in arithmetic.... pass an examination in at least one additional subject," "the precise standard" for the last two being left to be determined by the Local Governments.[1] For the lower primary school examination candidates were "required to read at sight with facility a moderately easy book in a vernacular language, to write to dictation from the same, and to work sums in the first four rules of arithmetic, simple and compound, including easy miscellaneous questions."[2]

It has already been shown that the Government had recognised female education as one of its most "sacred duties", commended various helpful measures to its officers and actually supported the Bethune School, from its own resources.[3] The immediate effect of the Despatch of 1854 was most beneficial in dispelling any uncertainty about the attitude of the Government. Officials favourably disposed

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1. Indian Education Commission Report 1884, p.119
2. Ibid.
3. See Chapter IV.

towards female education could henceforward take the initiative without fear of being reprimanded. Thus Indian Deputy Inspectors of the Education Department opened Schools where no girl was paid to attend.[1] The Government gave money where these schools showed promise. Prejudices against girls' education were weakening and educated Indians encouraged by the Government promoted the cause even if they did not profoundly believe in it.[2] Female education during the three years preceding the Mutiny (1854-57) made appreciable advances.

Progress was particularly marked in the North Western Provinces[3] where hitherto little had been attempted. This region came later under direct British rule and the number of Europeans there was insignificant in comparison with the three Presidencies. Moreover it was the home of Indian orthodoxy and religious bigotry. As a result neither the missionaries nor the Government had made any serious efforts to open girls' schools.

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1. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal 1857-58. Appendix A, p.52.
2. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal 1856-57, p.77.
3. Later known as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

Clearly the schools would have a greater chance of success if the lead came from Indians. In 1855, Gopal Singh, the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Agra District, opened some girls' schools. "The expense was, in the first instance, defrayed entirely from public funds; 'the agricultural classes though quite willing and ready to make use of the schools, were not then prepared to go further, and to pay the teacher'. The schools were attended by scholars..... all classes of Hindus including a considerable portion of Brahmins; and of the girls the age of some exceeded twenty years, the remainder being from six years old to twenty. The masters were selected by the parents.....and Committees of respectable native gentlemen were formed to exercise a general supervision over the schools, and to arrange for their visitation. The number of schools.....had risen in January, 1857 to 288, and the attendance of the girls was estimated at 4,927. It being desired at that time to carry out the experiment of female education in a more efficient manner, sanction was sought, and obtained, to the assignment of Rs 8,000 as a direct grant from the Government for female schools in the district, to meet an estimated expenditure on two hundred girls' schools of Rs 13,200 per annum, the balance being provided from the Halkabandee Cess and from

other sources."[1]

"The movement in the Agra District had, in the meantime, extended to the districts of Muttra and Mainpuri, though the number of schools was in these districts limited...."[2]

The example was not lost on Punjab. Mr. Arnold (the brother of Matthew Arnold), the Director of Public Instruction, candidly acknowledged that girls' schools were not as difficult to establish as might appear. "When this department was first organised it was proposed to let the question of female schools stand over till the ordinary establishments were well set on foot. We naturally took for granted that the difficulties in the way of such schools were as great as they were popularly said to be. But it was impossible for us not to be struck by the accounts which reached us from the North Western Provinces of the sudden disappearance of this great difficulty and the establishment, chiefly ascribed to Gopal Singh, a Deputy Inspector, of a large number of female schools. The subject was broached among our subordinates and a paper written by Gopal Singh was circulated among them. Some of the Deputy Inspectors at once pronounced the thing impossible. Others, especially

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1. J. Richey: Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Part II, p.436

2. Ibid.

the Deputy Inspectors of Ferozepore (Karim-ud-din), Jullundur (Alandar Hussain), and Rawalpindi (Safdar Ali), took up the question with interest and zeal. The first female school was opened at Rawalpindi under the auspices of Mr. Browne, Inspector of Schools, in December, 1856, by the close of the year seventeen had been established, and the total number of girls attending them was 306, or 18 per school. Of the whole number 296 were Mohammadans and only 10 Hindus."[1]

Another concession was made to these schools. Though the Deputy Inspector accompanied by "the respectable inhabitants of the place" was to ensure from personal inspection that "we are not paying some hundred rupees a month to enable little Mohammadan girls to sit behind a curtain and recite the Koran, which they will readily do without any such encouragement", the schools were "judiciously exempted..... from visitation by any European Officer."[2] Mr. Arnold realised that the schools were in the experimental stage but saw no reason to believe that they were "not genuine."[3]

Similarly girls schools were also established in Bombay.

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1. J. Richey: Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Part II, p.299
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid, p.300

In 1857, small annual rewards were offered by the Government to vernacular schoolmasters who should form girls' classes in their schools.[1] According to the Acting Educational Inspector of the Deccan Division, Captain Lister, "the prejudices against female education were fast disappearing," and that "there will be no more difficulty found in establishing female schools than there is in those for boys."[2]

In Bengal, too it seemed that a new era was beginning and the effect of the Despatch was to stimulate Progress. A sum of Rs 5,000 was set aside for the establishment and support of girls schools.[3] Inspector Woodrow took a keen interest in the matter and submitted detailed reports on the state of female education in his Circle. He encouraged his Deputy Inspectors to open and maintain girls schools. The response he received from them made him hopeful of the future.[4] He also reformed the village schools and sought to encourage the education of girls by promising rewards both to the Gurumohashys and the girls as soon as the latter could read read the First Book of the "Shashukahalya".

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1. Report of the Indian Education Commission 1883, p.524
2. J. Richey: Selections from the Educational Record of the Government of India, Part II, p.436
3. Indian Education Commission Report, 1884; p.523
   Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report, 1883; p.18
4. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal 1855-56, p.77; Ibid 1857-58 Appendix A., p.50.

He was so far successful that in 1857, there were "more girls in the indigenous schools" in East Bengal than "in the Bethune and Central Schools together."[1] Another official, an ex-secretary of the Bengal Council of Education, published a book strongly advocating the foundation of infant and female schools by the Government.[2]

However, it was Ishwar Chandra Vidya Sagar, the veteran Hindu reformer and the Inspector of Schools for Burdwan Division, who did most for the education of girls. He devoted his life to improving the condition of women. He was very closely associated with the Bethune School.[3] In 1856, he persuaded the Government to legalise the remarriage of widows.[4] Pending formal sanction of the Government, he opened 40 schools attended by 1300 girls of higher castes and was commended by the Governor for displaying so great a zeal for such a beneficent cause.

From the above account of female education during a short period of three years it is clear that the Company's Government had at last realised its responsibility in the

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1. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal 1856-57 Appendix, p.43
2. T. A. Wise: Thoughts on Education in India; p.8
3. See Chapter IV, p.277
4. Encyclopæ dia Brittanica, Vol.XXIII, p.140 (1946 Edition)

matter. It was a period of happy co-operation between the Government and the Indians.

The Despatch of 1854 laid down rules which we had already criticised.[1] But it appears that the Government did not hold itself bound by them. The clause, which allowed the Provincial Governments to frame the rules for grants in aid according to their own local needs so long as they conformed to the general pattern, was generously interpreted. As early as 1856 the Directors waived the fee proviso and sanctioned "the exemption of girls schools from the rule under which the levy of a school fee is a necessary condition of receiving a grant from the Government."[2] The Government even went further and at some of the Gurnmohashay schools the girls and the Gurus were rewarded for lower qualifications than those fixed for boys.[3]

True, the clause requiring the Government grant not to exceed the contributions from private sources still put a premium on rapid progress. But here too the Government was prepared to adopt a more liberal policy as must have been already clear from the aid given to Gopal Singh's Schools.

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1. See Chapter IV p. 310-17

2. Bengal Education Report, 1857-58; p.89. Despatch No.96 dated October 1st 1856.

3. Report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal 1857-58. Appendix A; p.50.

Not only did the Government agree to "the expense..... in the first instance" being "defrayed entirely from public funds", but consented to pay 8,000 rupees of the total estimated expenditure of 13,200 rupees![1] The Government indeed could hardly have been more generous in the circumstances.

Thus within three years of its assuming responsibility for female education, the Government had opened, and encouraged others to open, girls schools. The aid given to these schools was more generous than permitted by the Rules. The Clause requiring fees to be levied in aided schools had been withdrawn. A concession was made to the social prejudices of the country by excluding girls schools from inspection by European officers. At the same time a forward step in social reform was taken by the legalisation of widow-remarriage. Just when it seemed that girls' education would make rapid progress, the measures for extending the schools were discontinued by the orders of the Supreme Government.[2]

This sudden change in the Government's attitude must be explained.

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1. P. 321

2. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal 1858-59; p.45.

The mutiny is generally supposed not to have had any adverse effect on the progress of Western Education in India. It was limited in area to Northern India. Bengal, Bombay and South India were not touched at all, though precisely those regions were the earliest centres of Western influence. In the affected parts, the modern Provinces of the Punjab, the United Provinces, Behar and the Central Provinces, such influence was extremely limited as the number of Europeans there was very small. The suppression of the mutiny marked the final failure of the forces of reaction and orthodoxy to stem the advance of the age of railways and telegraphs. This was followed by the proclamation of Queen Victoria and the establishment of Universities at the three Presidency Towns. It was assumed that the path was henceforward clear for India to advance in Western Science and literature.

This was in a large measure true of the education of boys; the needs of the growing bureaucracy to man the subordinate services with English-speaking Indians[1] ensured a steady flow of Scholars.

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1. Sir H. Hardinge's Resolution on Public Services in 1844 laid down that "the minimum standard of qualification for employment, should be the same as that for gaining a Senior English Scholarship".
J. Richey: Selections from the Educational Records of the Government of India, Part II, p.67. Selections from the Records of the Madras Government; compiled by A. J. Arbuthnot, 1855, p.61.

The English-educated Indian middle-class steadily grew in numbers. Parents made genuine sacrifices to educate their sons for the real or supposed fruits of office[1] to be collected after an English education; the Government, though pressed for economy, did not mind spending a part of its revenues in maintaining a machinery which supplied it with cheap clerks. Lord Ellenborough[2] and a few other critics blamed English education for the mutiny. Favouring its discontinuance, as likely to lead in time to a demand for independence by the Indians,[3] they were yet powerless to do any appreciable damage to the education of boys. The economic forces in operation were far more powerful than a handful of individuals, however important.

Hence whenever retrenchment in the educational sphere was suggested, it generally meant in practice withdrawal of support from girls schools for there was no economic incentive to their instruction. Female education was a delicate plant reared in a hot house atmosphere. It had not long been planted in the soil, where watered by the goodwill of enthusiastic if limited supporters, it was beginning to take root. For a time

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1. "Real or supposed". The supply of Indian graduates soon outstripped the demands of the bureaucracy. The aim of education still remained a comfortable Government post at the end of it though it was clear that this ambition would not be realised by the majority.

2. Governor General of India 1841-44.

3. F. B. Fisher: India's Silent Revolution; p.157

it seemed that it would develop luxuriant tropical foliage; then the mutiny blew across like a chilly wind and did lasting damage. Governmental inactivity in the sphere of girls' education produced the same effect as if the views of Lord Ellenborough and his associates had prevailed, although they had been strongly refuted by high officials in India.

Three factors, which may be directly traced to the mutiny, had a withering effect on female education. The memories of the Well of Cawnpore and the brutal retalliation following upon it alienated still further Europeans and Indians. The tendency to racial exclusiveness following upon improvements in Communications[1] between India and England

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1. Railways: 1853 First section of the line opened at Bombay followed by 40 miles of the East Indian Railway near Calcutta.

The first railway line completed was the S.W.R. of Madras. By May, 1862, 1,630 miles of railway lines open, a year later another 1,300 miles were added and by 1865 the remaining 1,800 miles were also completed.

Telegraph immediately preceded the railways. 3,000 miles of wire was erected in two years at a cost of £200,000 all along the great lines of traffic.

Postage: Light charges, uniform rates and postage stamps introduced in place of heavy charges and varying rates paid in bulky Indian cash. In 1855 postage rates to England via Marseilles and Southampton reduced to 6d. for half an ounce. Book-post, at the rate of 7½d. for 7 oz. inland and 4d. for every quarter of a pound to England, was introduced a little later.

In 1858 weekly mail to England was introduced. Regularity of service and comfort in travelling were also much improved. Roads and inland steamer services on the rivers also improved considerably showing a rise in Indian trade from £31,980,000 in 1849-50 to £89,074,000 in 1860-61 (J. Mullens: Ten Years of Missionary Labour in India; p.4-5

now became general[1] being accentuated by the opening of cable lines and the Suez Canal (1868). From now on there were

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1. J. Mullens: Ten Years of Missionary Labour in India; p.7
"On the other hand to the English in India the cost of living has been greatly increased. The enormous rise in house rent in the Presidency towns, especially in Calcutta; the increased wages of house-servants and of native artisans of all kinds, have put a stop to the profits of former days; and added to the heat of the Climate and the difficulty of managing the natives, have increased that dislike of the country and people, and that desire to quit both as speedily as possible, from which even Christian people are not exempt."

Letter of J. Long of Calcutta written about 1863, quoted by C. H. Wright: The Importance of Linguistic Preparation for Missionaries in General; p.18
"The increasing antagonism of race between many of the Europeans and natives in India, renders it more advisable to qualify the Missionary to act as a link between the two, combining a knowledge of our race from his previous training, and of the other by subsequent studies and associations. The gulf between the European and Oriental mind is so wide that he should bridge it as far as possible by preparatory studies."

J. Long: Calcutta and Bombay, 1870; p.10
"In truth it seems that the literary development of the Bengalis gives them too much self-respect to consent to associate with Europeans on the inferior terms which a conquered Asiatic race usually accepts, without bringing them onto terms of real intimacy on an equal fotting. And it appears to me to be a fact much to be lamented, that there is now in Calcutta less friendly and familiar intercourse between the upper European community and the upper classes of Natives than in the least advanced up-country Stations."

H. Das: Life and Letter of Toru Dutt; p.278
"But their steamers rarely contain more than two or three reserved cabins; that is cabins with two berths only and one has to pay extra for a reserved cabin; as as to going in the same cabin with two strange Anglo-Indian ladies, that is very uncomfortable. Anglo-Indian ladies are very supercilious and fond de faire la grande dame."

constant complaints by the faithful few against the unwillingness of European women to play their part in the Western education of Indian girls.

Secondly, the suppression of the Mutiny depleted the finances of the Government, which henceforward strictly curtailed expenditure on female education and abandoned the liberal financial policy it had adopted during the years 1854-57.[1]

This might not have been so detrimental had the anxiety to economise not been accompanied by the growth of bureaucratic Government and the over centralisation of the finances which left little freedom to Provincial Governments. The arrival of a new type of official, the "Competition Wallah", the growth of bureaucratic Government with its regard for mere administrative expediency, particularly hindered the growth of a movement which above all depended upon individual initiative and enterprise for its success. Quicker transfers further lessened the influence of the few who were favourably inclined.

Female education became merely a pawn in the game of experts for the playing of which the conditions were very favourable following upon the tightening up of strings by the Central Government. The Provincial Governments demanded money

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1. Indian Education Commission Report, 1884; p.525

to open new schools; the Central Government replied by granting grudgingly only a part of the money asked for, often adding provocative homilies on the virtues of financial economy with hints for how the money could best be used. The battles of words were long but seem to have been conducted, albeit with consummate skill, almost for their own sake.[1]

Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidya Sagar had opened girls schools in anticipation of the grant being approved by the Government which he regarded as a matter of formality.[2] The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, recommended the application for "favourable consideration" and the Lieutenant Governor "confidently but respectfully solicited" the modification of "the Rules in these Cases".[3] The Mutiny intervened and the request was refused, the President in Council being of opinion that "unless the female schools are really and materially supported by voluntary aid they had better not be established at all....."[4]

The change in tone is striking. The refusal was followed by the publication of this general ruling from the Court of

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1. See Appendix. VI
2. See page 325
3. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal, 1857-58; p.86
4. Ibid; p.91

Directors in the Calcutta Gazette of August 14th 1858: "We desire that you will bear in mind the great financial difficulties to which we are now exposed, and that you will not on any account sanction any increase of expenditure in any part of India in connection with Education, without our authority previously obtained."[1]

That this despatch was to be strictly enforced was confirmed by a letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, to the secretary to the Government of Bengal.[2] The Lieutenant Governor had to issue orders to several Inspectors "to refrain from extending operation of any kind to new districts or to do anything more than carry on measures then sanctioned and under trial"[3] The Vidyasagar Schools were abandoned and "that gentleman found himself liable for between three and four thousand Rupees."[4] The Government once again[5] failed to back Indian enterprise at the appropriate moment. The Lieutenant Governor, F. J. Haliday, was deeply disappointed. "No regret is too great

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1. Calcutta Gazette, August 14th 1858 p.1642. Despatch no.86 of 1858, dated June 22nd. Report on Public Instruction Bengal 1857-58, p.88
2. Report on Public Instruction Bengal 1857-58, p.88-89
3. Ibid, p.88
4. Ibid, Appendix A, p.52
5. See Chapter IV, p. 296

for the necessity under which the Government of India conceived itself to discouraging and in fact of abolishing these 40 schools on account of financial considerations. For the impulse had begun to seize the people, having been communicated to them by one of their venerated Brahmins, would assuredly have spread with rapidity if it had been thought possible to take advantage of the golden opportunity, now, I fear, lost for many a coming day."

The Proposal of the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, to give grants to female schools on the condition that at least half the money was supplied from "private subscriptions met with no better response. The Lieut.-Governor forwarded it to the Government of India requesting the latter to inform him if the Notification in the Calcutta Gazette[1] was also "intended to put a stop to all further grants even from the sum already assigned by the Supreme Government for the purpose."[2] The Government of India replied in the affirmative and reaffirmed the decision that "without previous authority from the Court of Directors no increase of expenditure beyond that now actually incurred for education --- be permitted."[3] Though the Director's recommendation "might well be referred to the

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1. See Page 334
2. Reports on Public Instruction Bengal 1857-58 P.86.
3. Ibid.

Home Authorities for Special Sanction", "the Lieut.-Governor expressed his 'deep regret' at the result of the application to the Supreme Government."[1]

Equally the proposal to establish "eight Model Female Schools in each of the districts of Hoogly, Burdwan and the 24-Pergunnahs on the same principle as the Model Boys' Schools already established in numerous Districts" came to nought. The. Lieut.Governor forwarded it to the Supreme Government for its "favourable consideration". The Government of India deferred "passing orders" and instead desired "a full explanation as to the establishment of certain Female Schools in anticipation of the authority of Supreme Government, and -- to know who is responsible for this proceeding."[2] The Report mournfully records that "the required explanation has been submitted but the proposal will now doubtless be negatived under the Notification as to Stopping Educational expenditure."[3] The forecast proved correct for the Director was informed later that "Her Majesty's Government cannot entertain the proposal during the existing financial pressure, and that its consideration must be reserved for a future occasion."[4]

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1. Report on Public Instruction Bengal 1857-58 P.86.
2. Report on Public Instruction,Bengal 1857-58 P.87.
3. Ibid.
4. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal 1859-60 P.56.

Thus the proposals of the Provincial Government to extend the education of girls were negatived by the Government of India on grounds of economy.

It was therefore not surprising that the Despatch of 1859, which examined into "the operations of the orders despatched from this country in 1854 for the prosecution of measures on a more extended scale for promoting Education in India," expressed dissatisfaction with the progress of girls' instruction. "Although the Special interest of the Home Authorities and of the several Governments in India, in the work of female education, has been plainly declared, and though there is no reason to doubt that the officers of the Government have availed themselves of such opportunities as offered to promote the object, it would not appear that, except in the case of the Agra, and the neighbouring districts[1] any active measures have been taken by the Department of Education for the establishment of female schools."[2] Even these had been swept away during the Mutiny and though a fresh start had been made, they were not properly re-established until 1863.[3] In Punjab also Mr. Arnold noted in his report

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1. See Pages 321-22

2. Richey.J. Selections from the Educational Records of the Government of India Part II P.436.

3. North Western Provinces and Oudh Provincial Education Committee Report 1884 P.32.

for 1858"a considerable falling-off in the number of female schools."[1.]

It was clear that little progress had been made but instead of enquiring more deeply into the causes and proposing new measures, the Despatch complacently affirmed: "It appears that both the difficulties and the importance of female education are adequately appreciated by the officers of the Department of Education and no present order(s) respecting it seem, therefore, to be required."[2] "But", the Secretary of State rather pompously proceeded to record, "Her Majesty's Government are desirous of being made acquainted with the opinion which you may be led to form as to the genuineness of the change of feeling which appears in some localities to have taken place regarding it, and as to the nature and degree of the influence which may safely and properly be exerted by the officers of the Department of Education to promote the extension of schools for females."[3] This after the Home Government had consistently refused to confirm the recommendations of the Lieut.Governor! It also was in accordance with the prevailing mood that only a couple

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1. Richey.J. Selections from the Educational Records of the Govt. of India Part II. P.304.

2. Richey.J. Selections from the Educational Records of the Government of India Part II. P.444.

3. Ibid.

of months later, the Secretary of State "deferred" for future consideration "the proposed grant towards the establishment of a female school at Sulkeah", ... "the existing state of the finances rendering it imperatively necessary to restrict expenditure as much as possible in every branch of the public Service..."[1]

Madras and Bombay Presidencies had the same story to tell. The Madras Education reports "do not treat female education separately, and from many of them the exact number of schools or amount of grants cannot be obtained..."[2] The matter was given little attention by the Government.

At Bombay the change was equally striking. "The rebellion of 1857 closed the public treasury to all claims except those of War. The seven years that followed were years of dearth; and it was not until 1865 that provision was made for several of the wants which Mr. Erskine had declared to be urgent in 1856."[3] The Director of Public Instruction was averse to taking any active measures, and stated his position in clear terms: "My own feeling is that great caution should be used by the European officers of the

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1. Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department. Vol.No.LXXVI.(Calcutta 1870) P.143.

2. Madras Provincial Education Committee Report 1884 P.16. Howell A.P.: Selections from the Records of the Govt. of India, Home Department Vol.LXVII P.52.

3. Bombay Provincial Education" Committee Report 1884 Vol.1. P.20.

Educational Department with reference to female education. I think they should stimulate by advice, encouragement and prizes, the spread of female schools, but not undertake to manage them, except indirectly by inspection and examination. At the same time native Government School Masters..... should receive frank encouragement from their official Superiors wherever they are successful. I do not at all object to affording accommodation to girls' classes in our Government Schools where there is room, and I would permit the Government School-Master to be Supervisor of any such girls' classes, but I would not have him responsible officially for his management of them, nor would I allow him in any case to neglect his own classes in order to teach the girls. The Girls' classes should be left (I humbly think) to purely private management", assisted by the extension of grants-in-aid to deserving schools."[1]

Little wonder then that the Director of Public Instruction in his Report for 1865 stated that the Government could hardly be said to have "commenced undertaking female education in Western India."[2]

Curiously enough in the North Western Provinces and Oudh, the hot-bed of the Mutiny, the Government displayed

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1. Correspondence Relating to Education in Bombay P.126-27.

2. Report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, 1865-66 Part II.Para.45.

a genuine interest in promoting girls' education. "In no direction do we meet with hopes so sanguine, and predictions of so brilliant a rose colour. As early as 1859, Mr. Reid is 'persuaded that if Government were to appoint 150 Pandits to the charge of as many schools in every individual district in these Provinces on liberal salaries, we should have seventy or eighty thousand girls in these Schools before the year was out.'" A little late, Mr. Kempson quoted with satisfaction and apparently with concurrence, an article from an Indian newspaper which predicted that "in a short time the attendance of the girls will exceed that of the boys." Experience somewhat toned down the note of exultation but the hopeful attitude was maintained.[1] Even in 1866 there were 595 schools with 12,002 pupils, although the movement was showing signs of weakening owing to want of funds and competent inspection.[2]

In Punjab too an impetus was given to girls' schools by the Government. "In February 1862, a grand Educational Darbar was held at Lahore, under the Presidency of Sir Robert Montgomery, the Lieutenant-Governor, who impressed upon the European officers and native gentlemen present the

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1. North Western Provinces & Oudh Provincial Education Committee Report 1884 P.32.

2. Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department Vol. LXVII. Note by A.P.Howell.

importance which he attached to the education of women, and invited their co-operation."[1] A committee of 12 Hindus, 12 Moslems and six Sikhs was formed. Family priests were paid to teach adult women who received rupees 10 per mensem to train as teachers.[2] Sir Robert also encouraged Baba Khem Singh, "one of the Chiefs of Sikh religion", to use his influence to further the cause of girls' education. The latter succeeded in establishing several schools in Rawalpindi and Jhelum districts which received generous grants from the Government. Baba Khem Singh himself was later decorated with a C.I.E.[3] In 1865-66 there were about 1000 schools containing 20,000 girls in the whole of Punjab.[4]

Thus a review of female education in India between 1858-66 shows that the Government had no settled policy regarding it. The Government, pressed by the need for economy, had far more important problems on its hands. The establishment of peace and tranquility and the problems following upon the transfer of sovereignity from the East

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1. Lahore Chronicle Feb.18 1863. P.108-110.
   Punjab Provincial Education Committee Report 1884.P.10.
   G.Smith. Progress of Christianity Edinburgh 1864.P.24.
2. Report on Public Instruction, Punjab 1863-64. P.58-59.
3. Punjab Provincial Education Committee Report 1884. P.61.
4. Ibid P.10.

India Company to the Crown seem to have absorbed all its attention. Girls' education was once again relegated to the background as it did not seem to press for immediate attention. Lacking any deep basis in Indian Society, it was much more dependent upon official encouragement than the education of boys. The personal factor was all important. Because the higher official in the North Western Provinces and the Punjab showed themselves to be deeply interested in the subject, those were the only areas where it showed progress; elsewhere it languished. Mr. A.P. Howell, under Secretary to the Government of India, summed up the situation in his note on Education in 1866: "On the whole, then, it would appear that, up to the year under review, 'the frank and cordial support' of Government to female education, promised in 1854, had not been given, and that only a beginning had been made in some provinces. Looking generally to the results which I have recorded, it would appear that the greatest degree of success has been achieved in those Provinces where a personal interest in the movement has been most evinced by the District and Educational Authorities."[2] How important the personal and economic factors were will become clear when it is seen that

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1. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal, 1860-61. Appendix A. P.55; P.25.

2. Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department, Vol. LXVII P.56-57.

in the next decade, with the advent of less enthusiastic officials and cuts in Government expenditure on female education in both the North Western Provinces and the Punjab, most of the ground gained over the other Provinces during this period of general indifference was lost.[1]

1866-70. During the next four years girls' education made some headway. The Government introduced the Payment-by-results System to improve the standard of instruction. The total expenditure on grants-in-aid showed some increase, while the problems of finding teachers and arranging suitable inspection of girls' schools were also tackled. The visits of Miss Mary Carpenter to India were encouraged by the Government and led to the establishment of Female Normal Schools, giving a great impetus to the movement.[2]

But the Government did practically nothing to open girls' schools on its own account.[3] Indeed the administration was practically paralysed by over centralisation. The Central Government tried to impress its authority on the Provincial Governments whilst the latter spent most of their energy in trying to resist these encroachments. The System, which entailed annual financial allotments by the Central Governments

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1. See Page 350

2. Report of the Indian Education Commission 1883 P.524 See Chapter VIII.

3. Madras Provincial Education Committee Report 1884.P.25.

for specific objects and the reversion of any unspent money at the end of the year to the Centre, was particularly hard on education which required long term planning. Little could be done in this Sphere within the short space of a year. Unnecessary interference and uncertainty as to future allottments were irksome and did more damage to girls' education than perhaps to any other activity. It was not regarded as a vital subject but one which both the Central and Provincial Governments could discuss without any sense of urgency.

Thus in 1866 the Secretary of State criticised the new grants-in-aid rules framed by the Madras Government. These promised grants on a reduced scale to a mistress regardir whose qualifications the Director of Public Instruction was satisfied and in elementary schools, gave the managers the option of obtaining grants on the periodical examination of pupils.[1] The Secretary of State complained that "I am not altogether satisfied that the new rules even now are not unduly directed to the raising of the standard of education in existing schools, while they fail to afford sufficient encouragement to the establishment of new ones."[2] In his opinion the effect would be to raise unnecessarily

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1. Selections from the Records of the Government of India: A.P. Howell 1868. Vol. LXVII P.298-300 Secretary of States Letter Number 5 dated March 9 1866.

2. Ibid.

the salaries of teachers. The Madras Government in reply offered detailed explanation to clear the "misunderstanding" - and submitted that the rules "in no way compelled them to give higher salaries than justified by the market value and ... in Shanar Schools they pay less."[1]

The Government of India further hinted that the Madras Government should not rely on the grants-in-aid, financed largely out of Central funds, for the extension of primary education in the Presidency but should levy a local Cess for that purpose. "The Madras Government is reminded", wrote the Secretary to the Home Department Government of India, "that in no part of India has any extension of elementary education been effected under grants-in-aid System, and that such extension should rather be looked for from the operation of the educational Cess which it is hoped will ere long be in force throughout the whole of the Presidency."[2]

The Imperial Government seems to have been unable or unwilling to spend larger sums of money on Girls' education from its own funds. It therefore authorised the Provincial

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1. Ibid. P.303-304. Letter No.336 dated 25th. Oct. 1867 from A.J.Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to the Madras Government, to the Government of India, Home Department.

2. Selections from the Records of the Government of India Vol. LXVII P.387. Letter from the Secretary to the Department, Government of India to the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George. No.12 Dated Feb.9 1868.

Governments to levy an Educational Cess to finance the expenditure on education with the proviso that the money should be spent in the districts which paid it. The Centre deemed its duty to have ended there and looked forward to encouraging results ensuing from such an authorisation. The Provincial Governments on the other hand, knowing the poverty of the Country and the reluctance of Indians to make such payments particularly for girls' education, and, above all, labouring generally under a sense of financial irresponsibility bred out of extreme Centralization, demanded larger contributions from the Central Government. This is clearly illustrated by the correspondence between the Government of India and the Government of Bombay, which is given in fuller detail in the appendix.[1]

The Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, Sir Alexander Grant, requested the Government of India for a sum of Rupees 30,000 from Imperial funds to assist in the instruction of girls between the ages of five and eleven years.[2] After a long, tortuous and 'clever' correspondence over a period of eight months, the Government of India agreed "to allow the additional grant of Rupees 10,000 already

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1. See Appendix. VI.

2. Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department 1868. Vol. LXVII. P.270.

sanctioned for one year to be continued for a further period of two years" and expressed the hope that "the Bombay Government will find no greater difficulty in advancing the Cause of female education than has already been successfully overcome in several other Provinces without any such direct aid from the Imperial revenues."[1] On what evidence the Government of India based its optimistic belief it is difficult to discover!

Uncertainty and irresponsibility encouraged by financial over centralization caused apoplexy at the Centre and anaëmia at the periphery. It also revealed an alarming tendency to substitute for the varied popular forms of Indian instruction, a single rigid system.[2] Little else could be more harmful to the Cause of Girls education which was already suffering from imitating that of boys'.

The remedy clearly lay not in an educational measure but a financial one. Fortunately this came in 1870, when Lord Mayo, under the influence of the Strachey Brothers, introduced his scheme for financial decentralisation which gave each Province the freedom to develop education upon lines best suited to its needs.[3]

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1. Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department: A.P. Howell, 1868. Vol.LXVII P.275-6.

2. Sir W. Hunter: State Education for the People P.12-13.

3. Ibid.

A little earlier, May 12 1870, the Despatch of the Duke of Argyll, had set at rest the Education Cess controversy. It laid down "that rating for local expenditure is to be regarded, ... in all the Provinces ... as taxation separate and distinct from the ordinary land revenue; that the levying of such rates upon the holders of land, irrespective of the land assessment, involves no breach of faith on the part of Government, whether as regards holders of permanent or temporary tenures.... Her Majesty's Government can have no doubt that, as elsewhere so in Bengal, the expenditure required for the education of the people ought to be mainly defrayed out of local resources. This, however, is precisely the application of rates which the present condition of the people may render them least able to appreciate. I approve therefore of Your Excellency proceeding with great caution."[1]

The Argyll Despatch and Lord Mayo's decentralisation order of December 14th. 1870, compelled the Provincial Education Departments to look elsewhere than to the Imperial Exchequer for the extension of girls' education; it further obliged the Local Governments to define their educational policies. Demands for additional funds could no longer be made upon the Government of India. The assignment of fixed

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1. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report 1884. P.29-30

grants for education to the Provinces meant that the Directors of Public Instruction must henceforth look less to assistance from outside and depend more upon administrative reforms and a careful re-organisation and re-distribution of their finances. The Government of India adopted the measure of "deprovincialisation" as the most likely to lead to greater economy and efficiency.

Freedom from the constant interference of the Centre and the greater control over their finances enabled the Provincial Governments to think of long-term educational policies suited to their own peculiar needs. Thus Bombay, like the Punjab and the North Western Provinces, adopted the principle of Government Primary Schools under the direct control of the Education Department, while in Bengal no departmental schools for girls were opened. The Government was content to frame broad general rules to aid indigenous and missionary girls schools. Madras adopted a compromise between these two extremes; the Government opened primary schools for girls as well as aided private enterprise.

Financial independence, however, did not deprive the Provincial Governments of the valuable advice and direction which the Centre alone could offer. Only a few months after Lord Mayo's Resolution, the Government of India adopted another Resolution which laid down for the benefit of the Local Governments that "it is a primary duty to assign funds

for the education of those who are least able to help themselves, and the education of the masses has therefore the greatest claims on State funds."[1] Female education was not specifically mentioned but could not have been very far from the minds of the framers of the Resolution. Even though Governmental policy still left much to be desired, girls' elementary education made more rapid progress in the decade 1871-81 than previously except in the Punjab and the North Western Provinces.[2]

The progress in the last two Provinces had largely been the result of the generous financial support given by the Government. When this was withdrawn, the schools collapsed. In Punjab the decline began in 1866 when the Government withdrew its annual grant of Rupees 10,000.[3] Ten years later the North Western Provinces followed suit. "The financial position of the Government became such as to render economy essential" and the abolition of girls' schools was felt to be one of the "necessary" measures which could be taken with the least prejudice to the cause of education![4]

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1. Bombay Provincial Education Committee Report 1884 Vol. 1 P.41 Resolution No. 60, Home Department, dated Feb.11. 1871.

2. Secondary education of girls actually declined see Chapter VII. P.

3. Punjab Provincial Education Committe Report 1884.P.8;60-61.

4. N.W.P. and Oudh Education Committee Report 1884.P.67-68.

These facts are clearly brought out in the following Table:

Province and Year.	Government.		Inspected Aided and Unaided.		Total.	
	Schools.	Girls.	Schools.	Girls.	Schools.	Girls.
Bengal (1870-71	1	61	287	6625	288	6686
Bengal (1881-82.	*	*	990	17,452	990	17,452
Madras (1870-71			45	1632	45	1632
Madras (1881-82	47	2123	460	18,242	507	20,365
Bombay (1870-71	159	6083	52	2689	211	8772
Bombay (1881-82	181	11,238	151	10,621	332	21,859
Central Provinces (1870-71	137	2,489	3	81	140	2,570
Central Provinces (1881-82	64	2,676	14	532	78	3,208
Punjab (1870-81	138	3,275	327	8,894	465	12,169
Punjab (1881-82	145	3,857	162	5,350	307	9,207
N.W.P. and Oudh. (1870-71	484	6,772	99	2,488	583	9,260
N.W.P. and Oudh. (1881-82	160	3,687	142	5,039	302	8,726
[1] Total for India 1870-71	919	18,680	813	22,409	1732	41,089
[2] Total for India 1881-82	597	23,581	1,919	56,236	2516	80,817

1. Figures for 1870-71 taken from A. Howell: British Education in India Sec.IV. P.117 (Columns 3 and 4 have been added up)

2. Figures for 1881-82 taken from the Tables for different Provinces in Indian Education Commission Report 1884 P.523-528.

* Bethune School is counted as an elementary school in 1870-71 but not in 1881-82 when it was largely concerned with higher education.

Impressive as this progress was, Governmental policy still had many serious defects because it followed too closely upon the trends in English education and paid too little attention to the peculiar problems facing girls in India. The main impulses were communicated from the ruling country,[1] and contemporary England had whole-heartedly adopted the examinations system. The Indian Provincial Governments, too, adopted the "Payment-by-results" System.[2] The effects of the System on English education have been characterised as "Cheap and Nasty".[3] The phrase has a greater validity when applied to the elementary education of Indian girls.

It was cheap because the Government, despite generous distinctions in favour of women teachers and girl pupils, was saved considerable sums of money because women and girls were unable to take full advantage of the aid offered them under the Rules. Even in Bombay where the rates for girls were fixed twice as high as for boys, a sufficient grant was "never" earned owing to the irregularity of attendance and other

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1. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report 1884 P.57.

2. Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department, Vol.LIV Appendix P.XXXII. A.M.Monteath: Minute on the state of Education in 1865-66; Report on Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency, 1868-69 P.29; Ibid. Bengal. 1876-77. P.78.

3. K. Richmond: Education in England P.73.

causes.[1] As girls were usually in the lowest stages of instruction, the consequent payments received were very meagre. In Madras, where the aid was partly given to supplement the teachers' salaries and partly on the results, the disparity between the aids to boys' and girls' schools was still more marked. This, in spite of the fact that the Government contributed half of the salaries of the certificated mistresses as compared with only one-third for certificated masters and the payments-by-results for girls were 75% higher than for boys. In practice both these concessions were "a dead-letter" because there were few certificated mistresses and standards were fixed too high for girls to take much advantage of the proviso.[2] The Central Provinces and Assam were much in the same position. Only in Bengal did the girls' elementary schools actually earn higher grants than for "Primary schools generally". The system was certainly cheap even if it discouraged private bodies from undertaking the instruction of girls.[3]

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1. Indian Education Commission Report 1884 P.423.

2. Madras Provincial Education Committee Report 1884.P.129,145.

3. Indian Education Commission Report 1884 P.423.

   It is worth noting "that only where the number of girls' Schools has been extremely small, has the rate of aid in any Province ever approached the proportion of one-half the total outlay" which the Commission fixed as a just division of Costs between the Government and private bodies.

Name of Province.	Rate of Aid to Primary Schools generally.	Rate of Aid to Girls' Schools.
Madras	40.41 per cent.	27.33 per cent.
Bombay	27.35 " "	23.59 " "
Bengal	26.28 " "	30.83 " "
N.W.P. and Oudh	43.50 " "	37.68 " "
Punjab	37.48 " "	31.79 " "
Central Provinces	45.62 " "	29.45 " "
Assam	64.19 " "	43.04 " "
Coorg	56.41 " "	52.17 " "
Haidrabad and Assigned Districts	21.93 " "	63.11 " "

Clearly then the Government did not give sufficient support to private bodies, although the number of girls in aided schools increased from 25,095 in 1870-71 to 44,708 in 1881-82.[1] The rate of aid actually given to elementary schools for girls was below that of the corresponding institutions for boys: it was common knowledge that the former were more expensive to maintain as additional costs, such as the conveyance of girls to the schools, were often incurred. The Government grants made no allowances for such expenditure.[2] The inadequacy of

1. Indian Education Commission Report 1884 P.423.

2. N.W.P. and Oudh Education Committee Report 1884 P.34.

Government grants becomes still clearer by comparing the cost borne by the Government in departmental schools with the aid given by it to girls' schools maintained by other bodies.

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Province.	% of cost borne by Public funds in Departmental Schools.	% of cost borne by Public funds in Aided Girls Schools.	Sufficiency of Aid.
Madras	94.80	28-59	Inadequate
Bombay	98.50	23.55	"
N.W.P. and Oudh	96.96	39.38	"
Punjab	97.10	38.54	"
C.P.	98.73	29.72	"

1. Indian Education Commission Report 1884 P.422.

Bengal, Assam, Coorg and the Haidrabad Assigned Districts are omitted from this comparison because departmental schools there were too few in number for any general inference to be drawn from them.

Nor was this compensated by offering special inducements to attract girls to the schools. Few scholarships were reserved for girls and Local Committees were expected to find the money from the grants given for boys' scholarships.[1] In the 24 - Pergunnahs even the special examinations for girls were abolished and the latter competed with boys at the regular scholarship examinations, the standard being slightly modified to suit the requirements of girls' schools.[2] Sometimes the girls succeeded in winning scholarships and once one even topped the list.[3] But it was only the exceptional girl who could succeed in this way; the system which compelled her to compete with boys with only slight modifications in the curriculum was manifestly unfair. Witnesses before the Education Commission universally deplored the lack of scholarships for girls.[4] Awarding scholarships was an easy way of encouraging girls and it is difficult to see why the Government should have failed to make fuller provision.[5]

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1. Report on Public Instruction Bengal 1874-75 P.84.
2. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal 1876-77. P.78.
3. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal 1876-77 P. 78.
4. Provision for scholarships was very inadequate. In 1882 there were in all only 799 Scholarships of the total annual value of Rupees 22,824 tenable in Primary Schools in the whole of India.
   (Indian Education Commission Report: Tables P.XLIV.)

The Education Commission recognised these defects and recommended additional grants for girls' schools on more generous terms,[1] as well as separate scholarships.[2]

The other and "nasty" consequences of the "Payment by Results" regime was that it brought girls' education, too, under the withering influence of examinations. May be examinations did something to improve the quality of instruction,[3] but the evils outweighed the advantages. The girls could well have been spared the horrors of a standardised uniform examination system devised mainly to test boys, especially as they were neither going to teach nor to tend machines. As their school-life was much shorter than that of boys, it was much more important for them to acquire a taste for reading which would be continued in later life rather than have irrelevant information packed into their little heads. A striking feature of the Evidence of Witnesses, including Mrs. Wheeler, before the Education Commission was that they all deplored the cramming following upon the introduction of the "Payments by Results System",[4] and the meagre attention paid to the physical well-being of

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1. Indian Education Commission Report 1884 P.599 Recommendations 3, 4, and 5.

2. Ibid. Recommendation No. 8.

3. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal 1876-77 P.78.

4. Madras Provincial Education Committee Report 1884 P.15. Bengal Provincial Education Committe Report 1884.P.266,384.

girls at school.[1]

The following Table shows that examinations were as much a part of girls' primary schools as of boys'; slightly more than a quarter of the pupils on the rolls of either sex were sent for examinations and less than 60% were passed.[2]

	Number of Pupils on Rolls in 1882.	Number Examined.	No.Passed.	Percentage of Successful Scholars to those examined.
Boys	1,979,121[3]	428,171	251,010	58.62
Girls	82,420[4]	19,328	11,421	59.09

1. Ibid. P.385-86.
   Ibid. Madras. Appendix P.9
   " Punjab P.229.

2. Indian Education Commission Report: Tables.

3. Figure for boys arrived at by subtracting the number of girls 82,420 from the total in Column 7 Table I P.XLI.

4. Indian Education Commission Report 1884 P.530 Column 7.

   Other figures are taken from "Subsidiary Tables" "Primary Education" No. 3. Indian Education Commission Report 1884 P.XLIII.

Thus the Government, though slow and cautious, was taking increasing interest in Girls' education. That it did so little was not due to wilfull neglect but the failure to recognise the special problems confronting the subject. This was not surprising when Feminists in contemporary England were insisting on the equality of women implying similarity. In fact one of the most important factors in retarding the progress of girls' education was the mistaken policy pursued by the Government in regard to the education of boys. The Government believing in the "Filtration Theory", devoted far too much attention to higher education to the consequent neglect of Primary. The figures for Madras are a case in point.

	Higher Class.			Middle Class.			Lower and Female Schools.		
	Rupees.	Annas.	Pies.	Rupees.	Annas.	Pies.	Rupees.	Annas.	Pies.
Total expenditure per school.	8647.	9.	9.	1660.	2.	7.	115.	10.	6.
" Govt. Grant per school.	2893.	-.	-.	351.	-.	-.	31.	5.	-.

(Selections from the Records of the Government of India Vol. LXVII P.305-6: Letter No. 336 dated 25th. October 1867 from the Chief Secretary to the Madras Government.

Only 38.23% of the total educational expenditure went on Primary schools.[1] Apart from other evil results of this policy, which built an imposing superstructure on weak

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1. Indian Education Commission Report 1884 P.170; Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report 1884 P.386.

foundations, the effect on girls' education was, as can be easily foreseen, direct and disastrous. Since no fixed sum was set aside for girls' schools, and since the overwhelming majority of girls were in the earliest stages of instruction, the neglect of elementary education adversely affected girls even more severely.[1] They found little compensation in secondary and higher education for the custom of early marriage deprived them of the facilities offered for more advanced studies.[2] It was in the light of these facts that the Bengal Provincial Committee Report to the Hunter Commission recommended a fixed sum to be set aside for female education.[3] The Commission itself recommended less stringent rules for grants in-aid, lowering of standards and special provision for scholarships particularly for girls over 12 years of age.[4]

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1. Total expenditure on boys' Primary Schools in 1881-82 was Rupees 62,92,923. The corresponding figure for girls' schools was only Rupees 6,71,778. (Indian Education Commission Report 1884 P.167)

2. Thus for example the number of girls sent up even for the Upper Primary Examinations was insignificant as the following figures show:

	Boys.	Girls.
Madras	11,268.	954
Bombay	6,469	34
Bengal	3,172	15
N.W.P. and Oudh	14,081	235
Punjab	6,321	8

(Indian Education Commission Report 1884 P.118. The composite figures for the two highest examinations are given by adding them.)

3. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report 1884 P.392.

4. Indian Education Commission Report 1884 P.548.

MISSIONARIES. Turning from the Government to the Missionaries to examine the latters' main contribution to the education of girls during the same period we find little change in organisation but a growing change in their whole attitude to education and a large increase in the number of girls under instruction in their schools.

The various Missionary Societies engaged in teaching Indian girls functioned separately through their respective Female Education Associations or Societies in Britain and India.[1] The only example of interdenominational cooperation were the Annual, and still more important, the Decennial Missionary Conferences. They were held both in Britain and in India when Missionaries of various denominations, not including the Roman Catholics and the Unitarians, met to discuss common problems. Education usually received much attention at these Conferences and discussions on girls' education became increasingly important.[2] But this co-operation was rather intangible and confined to discussion.

A step towards closer cooperation was taken with the foundation in London of the Christian Vernacular Education Society for India in 1858. Nominally it was founded in Thanksgiving for the suppression of the Mutiny. The London,

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1. SeeChapter III.

2. A.R.Buckland: Women in Mission Field P.13-15.

Weslyan, Baptist and Church Missionary Societies agreed to co-operate for promoting elementary education in India and for producing suitable school-books and Christian literature.[1] Perhaps the propaganda that was being conducted in throwing the responsibility for the Mutiny on their activities was at least partly responsible for drawing the most important Missionary Societies together in self-defence. This is indicated by the fact that the C.V.E.S. did little towards establishing new schools, which remained the main concern of the individual Societies. Similarly the Missionary Conferences continued to be the most important forum for the discussion of educational problems. But in propaganda-work the new Society became increasingly prominent and defended with great warmth the privileges enjoyed by the Missionaries in the sphere of education. Its efforts in the production of text-books were not so successful as the trend was towards Secularism. Still as an example of inter-denominational cooperation in an era of denominational rivalries, the foundation of this Society for framing a common policy towards education was significant. More will be said later about the actitivities of this Society.

The change in missionary attitude to girls' schools was more important. It was shown earlier that the fear of proselytism prevented their schools from becoming popular and a stray

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1. H. Morris: Life of John Murdoch P.104-5

case of Conversion often emptied them over a wide area. Even if the girls came back considerable damage was done as often the most intelligent and the most advanced ones did not return.[1] The Missionaries became increasingly aware of the futility of this cat-and-mouse attitude to girls' schools. They gradually realised that more was to be gained by acquiring a lasting influence on the minds of a large number of children by rearing them in a "Christian atmosphere" than by nominally converting a few to Christianity. The subsidence of the tide of evangelical fervour in Britain greatly helped to bring about this change. Henceforward Missionaries did not declaim so loudly against "heathen practices" and showed greater toleration of Indian religions.[2]

Though somewhat obscure to the lay reader, this departure from the emphasis on proselytism is perhaps best explained in theological language by the following passage which is quoted here for the interesting light it throws on the minds of the missionaries.[3]

"Let the true purpose of Missions be borne in mind. It is two-fold, corresponding to the two great divisions of missionary methods, the evangelistic and the pastoral, the

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1. See Page 147.

2. W.N.Clarke: Studies of Christian Missions P.178.

3. One Hundred years: Being the Short History of the Church Missionary Society London 1899 P.172-73.

"fishing" and the "Shepherding". First, the evangelisation of the World; secondly, the calling out, and building up, of the Ecclesia, the "called out" church, which is the true body of Christ. Our work will not achieve the conversion of the world, if by Conversion is meant the true conversion of souls. For Christ is coming back, not to a converted, but to an unconverted world. It is indeed possible, if His Advent is still long delayed, that India or Japan may become statistically "Christian"; and such a result of Missions would be grand in itself. "Christian" England is better than Heathen India. But the commission given by Christ to the church is to evangelize the world, to proclaim the Gospel. Even if not a single soul was converted, the duty would remain the same. Evangelisation is the Church's work; conversion is God's work; but if the duty is faithfully done, God will not let it be fruitless. And so the Missionary in Turkey and Persia, who may perhaps toil on through long years with scarcely a convert, is doing the Lord's bidding, and will receive the Lord's reward, as much as the Missionary ... who baptises his thousands ... Suppose there were next year no baptisms at all! It would be a trial of faith, but it would in no way affect our plain duty."

The Rev. William Miller, the famous South Indian educationist, was more explicit in his speech to the Scottish Ladies' Association. While not accepting education as a precondition to conversion, he emphasised its roll as "the

instrumentality through which God intends that his spirit should work upon the land." "I am sure," said he, "it is not by the fancy of high intellectual development being necessary for spiritual life, nor by any favour for the mean and shallow notion that civilisation must precede christianity, that this Association has been led to take the course it follows. Its members know the life of the Soul towards God is as compatible with childlike simplicity - nay even with ignorance and rudeness - as it is with the widest knowledge and the profoundest wisdom..... I am sure it is for these and higher reasons that this Association has formed, and is acting in the belief that the education of the females of India is a part of the instrumentality through which God intends that his spirit should work upon the land."[1]

The Report of the Poona Girls' Schools was equally clear on the subject. "We may name this movement our "inner environment", or that circle of Indian life, social, intellectual and spiritual that has become affected and amenable to our christian influence; outside of "Christian life" indeed - but inside of untouched and unpenetrated

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1. W. Miller. Female Education in South India, 1878. Church of Scotland Records.

heathenism."[1] This was very different from the earlier uncompromising view which, in its extreme form, asserted that instruction was to be imparted to equip persons for the work of the churches rather than to raise the general standards.[2]

Indian experience thus compelled the missionaries to revise their educational policy. If they were to retain their monopoly of girls' education against incursions by the Government and the Indians, they had at once to extend their operations and be ready to defend their privileged position. They did both with considerable success though the two objects at times appeared contradictory.

Apart from the greater stability of these schools which resulted from the weakening of the proselytising element and the improvement in the quality of instruction following upon the acceptance of "secular text-books", the story of the increase in the number of missionary schools for girls in the second half of the C19 is remarkable in itself. From 1852 onwards the schools and the number of girls under instruction consistently rose and the pace was much quickened in the last decade.

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1. India Office Tracts 635. Report of Poona Girls Schools 1883 P.14
   For a fuller discussion of the new missionary attitude to education see Whitehead.E:The English Church in India P.118.

2. India Office Tracts: Report of American Missions Board 1856 P.10.

YEAR.	SCHOOLS.	GIRLS.	GIRLS IN ZENANAS.	
1852.	449.	14,298.	-	1
1862.	485.	19,997.	-	2
1870.	664.	24,078.	1997.	3
1881-82.	1275.	47,276.	9132.	4

A more detailed examination of the statistics for the Missionary Primary Schools for girls reveals several other important features.[1] 5.

1. Murdoch. J. : National Education in India P.12.
2. Ibid.
3. Report of the Indian Education Commission 1884. General Table No. 1 b. P.IX.
4. Ibid.
5. Indian Education Commission Report 1884 Table No. 1 b.P.IX.

Total No. of Protestant Missionary Primary Schools.

		Primary Schools for Boys.		Girls' Schools.		Zenana Instruction.	
		No.	Pupils.	No.	Pupils.	No. of Houses.	Pupils
Madras (including Native States.	(1870-71.	1129	27,759	263	12,736	59	121
	(1881-82.	1813	50,818	434	23,414	2029	1920
Bombay	(1870-71	77	3,101	27	1,068	102	51
	(1881-82	207	5,693	67	3,041	366	147
Bengal	(1870-71	471	15,013	148	4,431	607	1094
	(1881-82	577	14,789	326	9,609	1318	2324
N.W.P. & Oudh.	(1870-71	117	3,676	143	3,639	388	515
	(1881-82	189	6,352	270	7,081	2810	3390
Punjab	(1870-71	42	1,222	61	1,550	134	213
	(1881-82	91	2,667	126	3,236	648	1032
Central India including C.P. & C.A.Districts.							
	(1870-71	76	3,470	22	654	10	3
	(1881-82	143	4,441	52	895	351	319
Total for India	(1870-81	1912	54,241	664	24,078	1300	1997
	(1881-82	3020	84,760	1275	47,276	7522	9132

NOTE: (1) These figures are exclusive of Roman Catholic Schools.

(2) Figures for Secondary Schools for Boys' and for Training Schools have been omitted.

A glance at the chart shows that so far as the Missionaries were conderned the disparity between boys and girls in the sphere of primary education was not very great. During the last decade the increase in the number of girls under instruction was proportionately greater than that of boys;[1] if the girls in Zenenas be also reckoned, the proportion of girls to boys under instruction was as high as 2 : 3. The disparity between the figures for boys and girls only becomes marked by including the figures for "The Arts Colleges and Secondary Schools" as well. The number of girls attending these was negligible, not even a couple of thousand; the number of such institutions for boys in 1870-71 was 347 with 40,075 scholars, and for 1881-82 the corresponding figures were 385 and 45,249. The inference is obvious, the Missionaries did not ignore the Primray education for girls even if they paid greater attention to the higher education of boys. This was consistent with their policy; the

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1. Except in Bengal where the number of girls under instruction actually declined.

girls must not be educated above the station to which they would be called in life, mainly as wives of Catechists and other mission workers.[1]

The Table also shows that the Missionaries were most active in the Madras Presidency where there was a strong Indian Christian Community[2] and in Bengal where they had started the work early. In Bombay Presidency their work was not as extensive. It is also interesting to note that the latest extension of their work took place in the North Western Provinces and to a lesser extent in the Punjab, precisely those areas where the Government had taken the initiative until forced to withdraw by financial difficulties.

The Missionaries were not content merely to open new schools for girls. They also launched many new projects for the Social Welfare of Indian women in general. Dr. Clara A. Swain, sent to India in 1860, was the first woman to bring medical aid to Indian women. Medical Missions form a separate story in the annals of Missionary activity. Many other organisations on the lines of their British Counterparts were formed. Branches of Young Women's Christian Association were

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1. See Pages 117-18; 149-50

2. Madras was designated as the "Missionary diocese" of India. (E. Whitehead : English Church in India P.101.)

opened at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras with auxiliaries in smaller Indian towns under the auspices of the World Young Women's Christian Association.[1] Christian women students from educational institutions in Great Britain founded the Bombay Missionary Settlement for University women. Christian women in Northern India formed "The Association for the Daughters of India" to help with Welfare Work. "The Union for West India" had similar aims.[2]

The emphasis was clearly shifting from proselytising to educational and humanitarian activities which were being greatly extended. This also meant a large increase in the number of Women Missionaries. J. Dennis estimated that in 1899 there were 3,500 unmarried and 4,500 married missionary women in the world.[3] A considerable proportion of these must have gone to India which gave rise to an occasional complaint against increasing European agency in the missions.[4]

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1. J. Dennis: Christian Missions and Social Progress Vol. II P.184.

2. Ibid.

3. J. Dennis: Christian Missions and Social Progress Vol. II P.46.

4. India Office Tracts 635: Poona Girls' Schools Report 1883.P.1 "It is the fashion to increase the European agency of the missions in India. We believe it is an entire mistake. It will pass away. It is native Christian agency that is needed because it is native christian agency that is to revolutionise the people of India and awaken them to the recognition of a personal, ruling, living God."

The efforts of the missionaries to extend girls' primary education and to promote the general welfare of Indian women were entirely laudable; not so praiseworthy were their attempts to retain their monopoly of girls' education and to defend, what may be termed their "vested interests".

In this, "the Christian Vernacular Education Society for India" played the leading roll. The missionaries did not welcome the incursion of the Government and State schools. They were particularly alarmed at the policy pursued by the Bombay Government since their own work in that Presidency was very limited. They stood for a literal interpretation of the Despatch of 1854 which in their opinion signified that the Government was not to open schools of its own but to give financial help to those already established by others. They pressed the case for an enquiry into how far the provisions of the Despatch had been implemented. It was partly as a result of the agitation by the Christian Vernacular Education Society that a Commission was appointed in 1882 under the presidency of Sir William Hunter to report on the State of Indian Education.

The Commission, while recognising that the Government could best help to extend education by aiding private effort, rejected the missionary claim that the former should withdraw altogether from direct educational activity - and hand over

its institutions to voluntary bodies.[1]

Missionary opposition to the insertion of a "Conscience-clause"[2] seemed equally unreasonable to the Indians - and there was some heated discussion on the subject. The Missionary argument that children were not compelled to attend their schools and that Indians could open schools of their own if they so desired was not convincing. The Indian reply was that as they themselves had not the resources of the Missionaries to open schools, their children would either have to endure religious instruction against their will or to go without any schooling at all. This seemed to them manifestly unfair for the missionary institutions received financial aid from the taxes overwhelmingly contributed by non-christians.[3]

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1. Indian Education Commission Report 1884 P.462.

2. The Cowper-Temple clause in the British Education Act of 1870 which prescribed that "no religious catechism or religious formulary distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in schools which receive rate aid.

3. Religious instruction could not only cause friction between the school and the parents but could also set up conflicts in the childs mind. The following letter to the Rev. Mr.Lash, an educational missionary,provides a vivid illustration of both
"Oh, Worthy Sir,
Having heard that you and our honoured mother (Mrs. Lash) have arrived safely, and in health in our country we are greatly rejoiced, and return thanks to God. We give you many hearty thanks for having sent us, who were very ignorant,such good instruction, and we pray that God will watch over you and protect you. As for me, I have special cause to thank God for the school, because I have obtained a blessing from it. How that came to pass I will tell you. One day our teacher had been speaking to us very plainly about the horrors of hell and the joys of heaven. I thinking of the state I was in, grew terrified, and that morning, through the instruction of the teacher, I learnt that the worship of idols is vain, that

there is but one God, that Jesus our Saviour is the only surity to rid me of my sins. Further, by means of the teacher, I learnt to pray, morning and evening, and from that time I have unknown to my parents prayed daily every morning and evening. I have worshipped no more idols, nor have I rubbed ashes on my forehead. Up to this time my parents have not noticed these things but I live in constant fear of this. Sometimes the teacher has allowed me to open and close the school with prayer, and I have prayed before the other girls.

I beg that you will pray for me, that I may believe in my Saviour until my life's end, and may see His Kingdom.

(Indian Female
Evangelist Vol.IV.P.13)

Mr. Justice Telang wrote an able minute of Dissent against the compromise accepted by the Education Commission.[1] The latter recommended the adoption of a "Conscience Clause" in those areas where the Missionaries had the sole monopoly of education; elsewhere the parents were to save their conscience by sending the children to non-missionary schools in the locality.[2] As a further concession to the Missionaries, parents were understood to consent to religious instruction if they did not express a wish to the contrary at the time of the child's admission to the school or at the beginning of a subsequent term.[3] But under pressure from the Christian Vernacular Education Society for India and its friends, the Secretary-of-State set aside even this moderate recommendation of the Commission.[4]

It was only natural that the Missionaries should have tried to defend their interests, extend their monopoly and resist any intrusions. But this does not detract from the fact that there was a genuine change in missionary outlook on education, which was beginning to be recognised as a distinct sphere of missionary activity, desirable in itself irrespective

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1. Indian Education Commission Report 1884 P.616-8
2. Ibid.
3. India Office Pamphlets on Education: The Rt. Hon.V.S.Srinivasa Sastri: A Conscience Clause for Indians in Indian Education Codes P. 42-43.
4. Ibid. P.34.

of the numbers converted. The well-known Christian-educationist and a member of the Education Commission, Dr. William Miller, affirmed at the time that even if a "Conscience-clause" were adopted, Missionary Societies would not withdraw from educational work in India.[1] Other eminent churchmen, such as "Rev. W.G. Peel, Acting Secretary of the Madras Church Missionary Society, and the Right Rev. G. Porter, the Archbishop of Bombay", openly joined the Indians in asking for religious instruction in schools to be made purely voluntary.[2] This opinion was to prevail in the long run.

The attitude of the Missionaries was changing and Indians were increasingly appreciative of their educational work. But suspicion dies hard and fear of proselytism was still a major factor in slowing down the progress of girls' education. An independent Englishwoman, M.F. Billington, sent by one of the leading English newspapers to report on conditions in India, recorded this verdict: "Ungracious and paradixical as it seems to allude to the facts, in face of all that has been done for female education, there is an existent drawback to wide development of the movement in its association with evangelisation."[3]

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1. Srinivasa Sastri: A Conscience-clause for Indians P.32-33.
2. Ibid P.36-38.
3. M.F. Billington: Women in India P.29.

There were other defects, too, in the Missionary educational fabric. Too much emphasis was laid on mechanical religious instruction and consequently other subjects necessarily suffered. Nor did the teaching of these always harmonise with the environment of the pupils. There was too little realisation of the fact that the teaching best suited to English girls was not necessarily the best for Indian girls as well; that to obtain better and more abiding results, it had to be adapted to the peculiar needs of the latter. Little consideration was given to the background of the pupils and full use was not made to build upon their existing knowledge.[1]

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1. Madava Rao: Conversations on Female Education P.2.
"It is somewhat strange that the English people arrange Indian Girls' schools in the tacit assumption that the girls are the children of pure savages, having no domestic system calculated to train the girls naturally and nationally. A prevailing fault of English ideas with respect to Indian matters is to ignore the progress made during long ages of the past, and to begin everything anew and from the verybeginning. The frequent consequence of this is unnecessary expenditure of time, money and exertion. I would rather recommend the reognition of the past progress, continuity and development of it, than setting it aside altogether and substituting for it an altogether new or exotic system, the less acceptable to the people because the less natural and national."

As an example of the above, Sir S. Muthu Samy Iyer quoted the fact that in India theoretical mathematics was very advanced which enabled the people to work out sums without 'Slate and pencil' and without a knowledge of vulgar fractions. Dewan Bahadur R. Runganatha Rao's sister, in the same way kept accounts, "which were not small" without being able to read or write. (Indian Journal of Education March 1897. P.183.)

Miss Maud Diver justly deplored "the tendency of English teachers to overlook two vital factors in regard to their pupils : first, that here is no question of enlightening minds hitherto left in barbarous ignorance; second, that as the keynote of old education of Indian women was character, the new cannot aim lower."[1]

The influence of the Missionaries on Indian design and craftsmanship was positively harmful. Drawn mainly from the lower middle-classes,[2] puritanical and distrustful, the Missionaries had no eye for beauty. They introduced unsophisticated Indian women, with an instinctive feeling for colour and design, to their own inartistic and mass-produced trinket and patterns. The Indians, lacking in discrimination and attracted by novelty fell for them. To quote Miss Diver again:[3] "The encouragement of such purely indigenous and useful branches of needlecraft would have proved an education in itself to both teachers and taught; but instead we must needs set our docile and innately imitative pupils to work upon such marvels of ugliness and cheap showiness as Berlin Cross Stitch, "water-lily" mats, and crewel-work antimacassars. Indian women delight in small novelties; and work of this degraded type being easy and rapid of accomplishment, they have

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1. M.Diver: The Englishwoman in India P.143.
2. See Page 13-14.
3. M. Diver: The Englishwoman in India P.150-52.

unfortunately honoured it with an admiration far beyond its deserts. It is no rare thing; in these days, for a Zenana visitor to come upon a graceful young Rani, draped and girt about with the strong rich tones of Eastern colouring, zealously at work upon a coarse magenta "comforter" or some like atrocity - destined to adorn the neck of her Lord, and likely, alas, to reach its destination. The sight would be laughable were it not so pitiful. For, to the discerning eye, it is symbolic of a great inward and spiritual falling off, for which, unhappily, we, as a nation, are largely responsible. In no branch of Indian art has British influence been so mischievously detrimental as in needlecraft..... And the Mission Schools are to be held responsible for most of the evil that has been wrought in this direction. Drawn, as so large a percentage of the teachers are, from the lower middle classes, and imbued with the worst philistinism of their order, they were equally utterly unable to appreciate the wondrous beauties of form and colour of indigenous embroidery, or to impart a knowledge of anything better than the decorative taste of the back-parlour."

A distinguished Indian, Sir Madav Rao, was of the same opinion and enumerated some practical objections. According to him the teaching of European music and needle-work was undesirable as it tended to suppress native talent.[1] Besides

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1. Madav Rao: Conversations on Female Education P. 10-11.

such needlework was of little use in the humble dwellings, pleased neither their husbands nor their families, could not be sold profitably, and cost time and money which the poor families could ill-afford.[1]

Herein, perhaps, lay the greatest failure of Western education in India. It failed to relate thought and feeling with environment so that the pupils constantly moved in two worlds, the world of the school and that outside it. Rarely was a synthesis between the two attempted.[2] Above all, this was due to the teachers ignoring the background of Indian civilisation and in consequence the scholars were aesthetically starved. Regrettable as this was in the case of boys, the effect on girls was disastrous. As the instruction of girls' did not offer any economic returns, their sensibilities could have been better trained and they might, perhaps, have redressed the balance upset by concentrating on the training of the intellect alone as was the case with the education of boys. As it was, if this education did not directly deprave their tastes, it "failed to help Indians to appreciate and cherish their most precious heritage, the Architecture, the Sculpture, and the painting of their historic past."[3]

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1. Ibid.

2. V. Chirol: Indian Discontent P. 155, 216.

3. Year Book of Education 1937. H.G. Rawlinson P.466.

The artificial character of education tended to bring it into disrepute. It gave rise to "the general notion that education makes women unfit for the conduct of domestic concerns", and it would have been more advisable to pay "greater attention.... to the humbler duties of every-day life than is now found to be the case."[1] However, the Government and the English-educated Indians in this respect must share the blame with the Missionaries.

These were serious defects but were not mainly responsible for the decline of Missionary influence in education. Indeed the Missionaries showed themselves fully adaptible to a new environment and a changing situation. In an era of intense denominational rivalries in England, it was remarkable for the leading Missionary Societies to have drawn into closer co-operation with each other. In this respect the Christian Vernacular Education Society for India has received less attention than it deserves. Less emphasis on proselytism similarly made their schools more popular among non-christian girls and rendered them less liable to interruptions. The schools and the number of girls under instruction showed a steady increase and in 1882, the Missionaries were still pre-eminent in the sphere of female education. There were 56,408 girls in missionary schools and Zenanas compared with 23,850 in departmental schools.

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1. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report 1884 P.414.

Even so the relative importance of the Missionaries, in education was diminishing. They had been the pioneers of girls' education on Western lines but the lead given by them had been taken up by the Government and the Indians. True the number of girls in State-schools was still less than half that in Missionary schools but the disproportion had been considerably modified since 1850 when there were hardly any Government Schools for girls at all. Indians, too, opened many schools for girls.[1]

The other main reason for the relative decline of missionary influence was the increasingly secularist trend of education from which India was not immune. In England "the principle of Secular, as opposed to religious, instruction had been established, if not defined" by Forster's Education Act of 1870.[2] The Indian Government, true to its policy of religious neutrality, restricted grants-in-aid to Secular instruction - and was careful not to display any partiality towards missionary education. This, however, did not affect the Missionaries very adversely at first for they had a monopoly, if not of schools, of printing-presses and text-books. The earlier books for use in schools had been almost all compiled by them. In the second half of the C19, the

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1. Free Church of Scotland Female Education Society Report 1863 P.1.

2. K. Richmond: Education in England P.77.

Indians displayed growing interest in the matter, especially in Bengal where a renaissance of Bengali literature was in progress. Eminent men like Ishwara Chandra VidyaSagar turned their attention to the prosaic task of writing school text-books, more in keeping with the environment and national heritage of the pupils. Even the Missionaries agreed to confine Christian teaching to the "direct inculcation of religious truth" and consented to the use of text-books free from evangelical bias. As a consequence there was a sharp decline in the sale of books issued by the Missionary-presses. The circulation of Dr. Duff's "First Instructor" thus fell from 3028 in 1859 to 527 in 1870.[1] The tendency was most marked in Bengal as shown by the following table:[2]

YEAR	NUMBER SOLD	PROCEEDS OF SALES IN RUPEES
1859	6511	2511
1862	7696	2122
1866	5665	1945
1871	2539	628

It would be only a matter of time before the text-books written by Indians supplanted the earlier ones.[3]

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1. J. Murdoch: Education as a Missionary Agency P.45.
2. Ibid. P.41-3.
3. Ibid. P.45.

In Bengal the work was largely taken up by the Vernacular Literature Society founded in 1851 to prepare suitable books for general reading as well as for use in girls' schools.[1] The Government made a grant of Rupees 180 per mensum. But in 1862, it was amalgamated with the Calcutta School Book Society whose affairs were then managed by a Committee of which, under the terms of Government grant, the Director of Public Instruction was ex officio Chairman. The separate grant was discontinued in 1875. They took over the publication of school-books from the Missionaries. The receipts from the sale of books rose rapidly until the function of publishers gradually passed into the hands of "native book-sellers". Its sales then declined and it turned to importing school-materials from England which were unobtainable in India and to keeping the prices of books down by remaining as a competitor in the field. These tendencies are clearly indicated by the figures given below.[2]

YEAR	NUMBER OF BOOKS SOLD	RECEIPTS RUPEES.
1855.	76,113	34,628
1871	258,980	1,24,649
1881	208,303	89,710

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1. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report 1884 P.116.
2. Ibid.

This was certainly a step forward, primarily affecting boys' schools and only indirectly influencing the education of girls. It was a pity that Indians did not go further and do more by writing text-books especially adapted for use in girls' schools,[Ox] although that was one of the chief functions of the Verncaular Literature Society. As a consequence the curriculum in the boys' and girls' schools was too undifferentiated to cater for the particular needs of Indian girls.[X] In the Upper Primary Schools of Bengal, boys and girls were taught the same subjects from the same text-books except that Geometry was replaced by sewing and knitting in girls' schools.[XX] In Madras, apparently, singing and knitting were in addition to other subjects![XXX] Mrs. Bauboo voiced the same criticism of Girls' Schools in Madras and pleaded the need for special consideration of girls.[XXXX]

OX. I.C.Vidya Sagar, who compiled text-books for use in Bethune School, was an exception and from the beginning these books were also used in boys' schools.

X. Indian Education Commission Report 1884, p.533-34.

XX. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report 1884, p.108.

XXX. Madras " " " " " , p.126.

XXXX. " " " " " " , p.15.
Mrs. Bauboo, Free Church Mission School, Madras: "The tendency of the educational system as hitherto pursued in connection with girls' schools in Madras has been to reduce them all to one dead level with schools for boys, as regards their organisation, the choice of text books, and the portion to be studied in the year..... A course of studies better suited for the age, circumstances, and requirements of Hindu girls should be introduced".

However, Indian writers indirectly helped girls' education in another way. The impact of the West led to a revival of Indian art and drama. New forms were created; novelists like Bankim Chandra Cahtterjee shed classical shackles and drew their characters from everyday life, writing in the language of the people. Printing-presses made this new literature easily available in books, magazines and periodicals. They supplemented the religious books, Ramayana and Mahabharata, and were avidly read by women in Zenanas. Now that there was a popular literature easily accessible in printed form, it was worthwhile being literate.

It is more difficult to determine the part directly played by Indians in promoting female education in the second half of the nineteenth century. The difficulties enumerated earlier[X] were not perceptibly diminished. More than ever girls' education was confined to the home especially after all that the missionaries had done to popularise Zenana instruction.[XX] A large number of girls also went with their brothers to village primary schools supported by the local landlord and sometimes aided and inspected by the Government. Composite figures for inspected schools, aided and unaided, were given earlier,[OX] but these were primarily concerned with missionary institutions.

X. Chapter IV. p. 280-3
XX. See Chapter VI.
OX. See P.351.

The Government's information about inspected indigenous schools was very fragmentary. This largely accounted for the differences between the Departmental returns and those submitted by the Census Authorities.

Other schools supported by the officers of the Education Department or influential Indians in towns were not open to inspection because the female inspecting Staff was totally inadequate for the task. Above all, as noted earlier, indigenous schools were notoriously backward in keeping written records when these were not specifically required to secure Government aid. It is a pity that even the Reports of the Provincial Education Committees and the Indian Education Commission (1882), otherwise very comprehensive in their surveys, do not give more information on this matter. Thus, while detailed information about girls in missionary schools is given in a tabular form, no corresponding figures are supplied for those in aided and unaided indigenous schools. Presumably the difficulties proved too much even for the Education Commission and, therefore, chance references in current periodicals and biographies are the only sources of information.

It was shown earlier that the English-educated urban middle class was the first section of Indian Society to favour girls' Schools.[X] This class continually increased in numbers and

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X. See Chapter IV.

importance in the second-half of the Nineteenth Century and gave an impetus to girls' education.

Even so this class, compared with the size of the country, constituted only a tiny minority. Its western inspiration seemed to divide it from the masses by a wall of literary pride. It borrowed more than it assimilated the western culture and religion. Sometimes its well-meant plans were nullified by indiscretion in their execution.[X] Many members of this class adopted a compromise; they applied one set of values to the world of school or office and another to their homes which remained relatively unchanged. Where a closer synthesis was attempted, a highly intellectual and eclectic form of religion emerged. The Brahma Samaj is a case in point. No doubt the members of this sect taken individually had high standards, and among the Brahmos the percentage of female literacy was considerable. But in the nature of things their numbers were extremely limited. The followers of Brahma Samaj in 1910 numbered only "about four thousand, mostly found in Calcutta and its neighbourhood".[XX] Their influence, however, profound, could not be very widespread.[XXX]

X. See Chapter IV. pp. 1-
XX. Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol. IV. p.389 (11th Edition)
XXX. Some notable Indians of Modern Times p.103. In a few cases the effect was the very reverse of it. Thus when Sasipada Bannerjee, who actively sponsored female schools, embraced Brahmoism and gave up the secred thread, girls were withdrawn.

The influence of another class of social reformers that came into existence in the second half of the nineteenth century was greater. The impact of Western Science and Christianity led them to reinterpret Hinduism in its earlier and purer forms. Their cry was "back to the Vedas". They constructed for themselves an idyllic past as a spur to reform. Their cry was a return to the ancient greatness from which they had fallen. The promotion of female education was an important plank in their programme. The most important of these movements which had considerable influence in Northern India, the Arya Samaj, did a great deal to promote female education. Its ideas were simple and easily appealed to people who had received no English education.

The most interesting effort by the English-educated Indians to promote girls' education came from the Students' Scientific and Literary Society of Bombay.[X] The Schools were very ably conducted until 1856 when they came up against financial difficulties. The solution adopted to get over these difficulties was an unfortunate one. Instead of all the Communities pulling together, in 1857 some schools were transferred to a communal body, the Parsi Girls' Association, on the condition that it undertook to run them for at least three years. Those for Hindu girls were retained by the

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X. See chapter IV. P. 305-8

original Society.[X]

The Parsis had become conscious of the value of female education and the schools made steady progress. In 1862 those who could afford to do so were required to pay fees. Ten years later all free places were abolished and even the poorest girls had to pay a minimum fee of eight annas a month. The cost of education per head amounted to 14 rupees and on the average about half of this was defrayed by the girls' parents. Regular monthly reports and attendance sheets were submitted to the Schools' Managing Committee. Parsi women were employed as teachers. An attempt to recruit women teachers was made by employing a competent tutor to instruct the pupil-teachers after their school-hours. Two sets of examinations were held every year to test the proficiency of the pupils, and prizes and certificates were awarded after stiff oral and written tests. Scholarships were given to encourage the more promising students.

The schools were run efficiently and were put on a satisfactory financial basis because the Parsi Community was both prosperous and valued girls' education. Instruction was given in Gujerati and Zorastrianism was taught in the higher classes. The schools were thus free from fear of the proselytism of missionary institutions and the insufficiency of secular

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X. J.Mullens: Ten years of Missionary Labour in India, P.144
Bombay Provincial Education Committee Report 1884, p.21-23 "Memorials"

instruction in state schools. In 1882, there were 595 girls in three of these schools alone and during the quarter of a century that the schools had been in existence some thousands of girls had been educated. Many of these kept up their reading on leaving school. The school buildings were not adequate for their growing needs and the want of suitably trained female teachers was felt. Above all the girls did not stay long enough and left at the age of twelve to be married.[X] However, a good start had been made and "female education was a reality with the Parsis."[XX] If funds could be spared for grants-in-aid," declared the Director of Public Instruction, "I have no doubt female schools would spring up in most parts of the Presidency."[XXX]

Another striking development also came from the Bombay Presidency. It was the foundation of an organisation composed exclusively of Indian women to further the education and welfare of girls. The Poona Wicharwatee Stree Sabha was established in 1871 and its preamble stated, "Females in India, owing to their ignorance and want of education, are subject to many evils, and since it has been deemed expedient by several females among themselves to direct their attention to this great

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X. Bombay Provincial Education Committee Report, p.21-23. "Memorials"

XX. Report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay 1867-68, p.40

XXX. Correspondence relating to Education in Bombay, P.130.

desideratum, an Association has been formed to conduct its operations with order and propriety." The objects were admirable. Only literate women of over eighteen years of age were eligible for membership. Business was to be conducted in Marathi. It was a secular body concerning itself only with the instruction and welfare of women, and imposed no religious qualifications for membership.[X]

The remarkable features of this Sabha were that it consisted of Indian women only. As such it was also an index of the greater freedom and initiative of Maratha women who were the first to form an organisation of their own, independent of the patronage of men or even of European women. The ponderous language of the preamble is reminiscent of the evangelical missionaries and suggests their influence even if only as a reaction. Later similar bodies were formed as far away as Sind.[XX]

In other parts of India, too, Sabhas became the recognised form of organisation whereby Indians sought to promote female education. But the membership was male and there were few in which women took a leading part. Thus in Bengal the names Backergang Hitaishini Sabha, the Vikrampura Sanmilani Sabha, the Faridpur Suhrid Sabha, the Puschim Dacca Hitkarini Sabha were

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X. Journal of National Indian Association, March 1876, p.82.
XX. Moral and Paterial Progress of India 1879-80, p.93.

quite familiar, the prefix denoting the area of its operation.[X] Occasionally the nomenclature of "Union" was also employed, such as the "Jessore Union" or the "North Bengal Union."[XX] These bodies encouraged girls' education by awarding scholarships and prizes, giving financial aid to existing schools and establishing new ones, publishing text-books especially adapted for use in girls' schools and undertaking to examine pupils periodically.[XXX] They also made important recommendations to the Hunter Commissions which showed great insight into the subject.[XXXX]

In the North Western Provinces the Suth Sabha, "a Society of influential Hindus at Agra" established thirty girls' schools during the year 1864-65 and the number and attendance of girls showed considerable improvement.[OX]

In addition to these Sabhas, there were many men who were individually engaged in instructing girls or supporting schools for them.[OXX] Inspector Woodrow concluded " from the exertions that are being made by many students of the Presidency College

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X. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report 1884. Memorial I. p.391.
XX. Ibid, p.413.
XXX. See Chapter VI. p.433. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report 1884 Memorial I.p.391
XXXX. Ibid p.392-3: 414.
OX. Moral and Material Progress of India Report 1864-65, P.57.
OXX. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report 1884. P.108.

to educate their wives and sisters at home, and by statements ... made by well-informed gentlemen at the College Debating Society... that female instruction is steadily advancing."[X] In 1862 the number of girls' schools in Bengal was doubled and the Director of Public Instruction, Mr. Atkinson, confirmed Woodrow's opinions, "The increase is entirely the result of native effort and may be traced directly to the growing influence of the young men who have received the full advantages of a high university education in the different Colleges throughout the Country. It is a hopeful sign of real progress which it is well to note."[XX] Sometimes the officials of the Education Department, especially the Deputy Inspectors, supported girls' schools particularly when encouraged by the higher authorities. Had the Government been willing to give greater financial support, the number of girls under instruction could have been considerably increased as many Indians could not afford to pay for the education of their daughters.[XXX]

The most significant contribution of the more conservative Indians, who had reacted against imitating the West, was the encouragement they gave to the ancient Hindu System of Pathshalas or Village Schools where boys and girls studied together under a Guru (teacher).[XXXX] The Missionaries themselves had at first opened

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X. Calcutta Review Vol. XL 1864,p.97. quoting from Director of Public Instruction's Report for 1859-60

XX. Report of Director of Public Instruction, Bengal 1862-63.p.28. Ibid. Appendix A., p.6. Calcutta Review Vol.XXIII,1927,p.390.

XXX. Report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal 1860-61, Appendix A.

XXXX. See Chapter IV. P. 279-80

mixed schools,[X] but with the spread of middle-class ideas of propriety and prudery in England during the nineteenth century, they had given them up. Missionaries and other Europeans discouraged mixed schools and in their evidence before the Hunter Commission they were almost unanimously against them.[O] It was largely under their influence that the Hunter Commission did not recommend mixed schools for children over seven years of age.[XX]

The Indians in general and the Governments of Bengal and Madras ignored this recommendation. They argued that such schools were in accordance with the usages of the County.[XXX] Boys and girls played together and went to the same school, and the custom of early marriage obviated the necessity for separate schools.[XXXX] In Bengal there were more girls in boys' schools than in schools of their own; even schools specially designed for girls were sometimes attended by little boys.[OX] The Country was not rich enough to maintain separate schools[OXX].

X. Memoirs of C.T.E Rhenius, p.40.
XX. Indian Education Commission Report 1884, p.548, No.12.
XX. Croft A.W: Review of Education in India 1886,p.291.
O. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report 1884, p.272,289.
Madres " " " " 1884,p.13.
Ibid Punjab, p.230, 189, 230, 450.
XXX. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report 1884, p.107.
Report on Public Instruction, Bengal, 1859-60. App. A.p.20.
Ibid 1864-65. App. A.p.169. Allahad Khan, Deputy Inspector of Schools wrote, " In many circle schools there are girls who attend the schools along with their brothers and cousins. Certainly I have found by experience that female education in this shape seems never to be objected to, while education in schools professedly for girls has invariably to contend with some prejudice more or less strong".

Footnote continued.

Report on Public Instruction, Bombay, 1857-58, 23-24. The Director of Public Instruction in reply to Sir G.B. Clerk and Lord Ellenborough wrote, "And I have certainly no reason to believe that the natives of Western India have, on this point, the strong feeling of repugnance supposed by Lord Ellenborough. On the contrary I think it will be found, wherever such repugnance is felt, it is traceable to a European, not a native origin."

XXXX. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal 1873-74, p.70.
XXXX. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report 1884, p.107.
OX. Ibid.
OXX. Ibid.

and by giving a Guru a rupee for every five girls under instruction, female education could be cheaply and widely extended.[X] Besides mixed schools could maintain a stronger staff, claim a larger grant[XX] and the superior discipline of the boys' schools would be an additional asset.[XXX] Mixed schools would also help to break down the Pardah System.

The Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report recognised the fact that the Pathshalas were deeply rooted in local traditions and the attitude of the Government could make little difference to them. "In the first place it cannot be admitted that the Bengal Pathshalas are in any sense weak. They have a vigorous life of their own, because they form a remnant of the old Hindu Village System, and are strongly rooted in the sympathies and traditions of the people.... The Pathshalas exist, not because they are maintained to any large extent by the State, which contributes but a trifling amount to their support, but because of their own inherent vitality. Whether the amount of Government aid is greater or less can make very little difference of a vital kind to schools which always have been, and will continue to be, supported by the people. It is very different with the (so to speak) exotic schools of the departmental system, framed more or less on English models. If Government aid is

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X. Report on Public Instruction Bengal 1874-75, p.93
XX. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report 1884, p.107.
XXX. Report on Public Instruction Bengal 1873-74, p.70.

withdrawn from them, or if its amount is liable to sudden or great reducions, such contingencies are fraught with peril to their very existence. These differences in constitution and stability furnish sufficient grounds for difference in their treatment."[X] In 1873, of[XX] 1480 of these Pathshalas in Bengal, 345 were mixed and the latter were becoming increasingly popular. The Maktabs and Koran Schools of Punjab in which a few thousand girls received religious instruction[XXX] were the muslim counterpart of the Hindu Pathshalas. Apparently Indians did not object to boys and girls reading together up to the age of ten and the number of girls in mixed schools rose rapidly. In Madras their number increased from 2148 in 1870-71 to 14,132 in 1881-82[XXXX] and to 22,000 in 1886.[0] In Bengal the increase was from 22,799[00] to 35,000 in 1886.[000] In Bombay there were only 4296 girls in mixed schools in 1882 but in the four years following their number increased to 17,000.[0000] If[0X] can be justly concluded from these figures that "throughout India the great bulk of girl-pupils read in Primary Schools for boys."[0XX]

X. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report, p.884, P.128
XX. Report on Public Instruction Bengal 1873-74, p.70.
XXX. Croft A.W: Review of Education in India 1886, p.291.
~~XXXX~~. The number of girls in them was estimated to be about 11,500
XXXX. Indian Education Commission Report 1884, p.523.
0. Croft A.W: Review of Education in India in 1886, p.291
00. Indian Education Commission Report 1884, p.526.
000. Croft A.W: Review of Education in India in 1886 p.291.
0000. Indian Education Commission Report 1884, P.524.
0X. Croft A.W: Review of Education in India in 1886, p.291.
0XX. Ibid.

It seems that whereas Indians were willing that their daughters should pick up whatever education they could at the Pathshalas which were primarily intended for boys, they were in general loth to spend any extra money on the education of girls. This is also shwon by the neglect of primary education in general and girls' education in particular by local bodies such as the municipalities and District Boards.[X] The Indian members of these bodies were primarily interested in the education of boys as a means of livelihood[XX] and were indeed indifferent to the education of girls. All Provinces, with the sole exception of Bengal, levied an educational cess[O] to be spent locally.[XXX] Even when expenditure from this source is also taken into account, only a paltry sum was spent on girls' education.[XXXX]

Expenditure on Primary Schools		Fees paid by	
BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS
Rupees 23,806621	Rupees 105,506	Rupees 17,53,381	Rupees 29,872

The glaring neglect of girls' education becomes still more apparent when it is realised that of the meagre sum of

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X. Municipalities spent only 2.03% of their income on Primary Education as a whole (Indian Education Commission Report 1884 P.L Column 13)

XX. Indian Education Commission Report 1884 p.146. The Commission reaffirmed Lord Hardings's Resolution, dated October 11, 1844.

O. See Appendix. VI

XXX. Ibid P.168.

XXXX. Indian Education Commission Report 1884 p.166-67 columns 14 and 15. See the full table for more detailed information

10,5506 rupees, Bombay alone contributed 51,619 rupees.[X] An analysis of the above figures shows that Local Boards spent more then twenty times on boys' Schools than on girls'; and Indians were about 60 times more reluctant to pay fees for the instruction of their daughters than for their sons![XX]

Sometimes even this limited interest was not genuine. Referring to the visit of the Prince of Wales to India in 1870 when an order for a bed coverlet was placed with the Schools of the KaSur Municipality, Mrs. Flora Anne Steel records that what "it would have liked to do, of course, would have been to pass the order on to the most skilled Delhi workmen and then present it as the first fruits of female education."[XXX]

X. Ibid.

XX. Ibid. From the point of view of expenditure on girls' Primary Schools, the Government does not come off very much better; only the missionaries appear as tending towards equality for they spent half as much on girls' schools as on boys'.

	Expenditure on Primary Schools from	
	Provincial Funds	Other sources
	Rupees	Rupees
Boys	14,61,512	6,97,409
Girls	2,15,994	3,20,406

Total expenditure on Primary education from all sources in 1881-82 amounted to 62,92,923 rupees for boys and 6,71,778 rupees for girls.

XXX. F.A.Steel: The Garden of Fiedelity p.77.

Inspector Woodrow noted, too, that girls generally made slower progress at school than boys because of the indifference of their guardians. Even an otherwise intelligent girl might continue to read the first pages of the Primer for a long time; but if the boy were similarly slow, the master would soon be severely taken to task by the parents. Woodrow ascribed this neglect to the fact that the Indians did not really believe the girls capable of making as rapid advances.[X] More likely it was not so much a question of belief in the abstract equality or inequality of the sexes; education, the means of livelihood for boys, had no such utilitarian value for girls.

It was probably due to this attitude of the Municipal and District Board Authorities that the Hunter Commission recommended that "female schools should not be placed under (their) management unless they express a wish to take charge of them".[XX]

The part played by the Government, the missionaries and the Indians in promoting elementary education has been described. The three were kept separate for the sake of clarity but it must have been apparent already that they were constantly intersecting. Consideration of the contribution of Miss Mary Carpenter, who gave a greater impetus to female education in

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X. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal 1862-63 Appendix A.p.8.
XX. Indian Education Commission Report 1884, p.548 Number 14.

India than any other individual, has been purposely reserved to the last, for in her we pick up the three threads together and see the best of each in close co-operation with the others. She was a pioneer of Christian Charity unalloyed with religious proselytism which was to be increasingly characteristic of European philanthropy in India. She crystallised the religious compromise towards which the missionaries had been groping. By steering clear of religious entanglements, she won the hearts of the Indians and the confidence of the Government, at the same time avoiding the charge of atheism and allaying the suspicions of the missionaries. During the decade 1866-76, she paid four memorable visits to India, rousing popular interest in the education of girls wherever she went.

Miss Carpenter's interest in India had been first awakened in the early thirties by the visit of Raja Ram Mohan Roy to England. Since then she had entertained many Indian visitors in her home at Bristol and learnt from them the conditions of women in India. But she was much too preoccupied with her work in the "Ragged Schools" and in drawing up plans for the betterment of the conditions of the poor in English industrial slums to take a more direct interest in India. It was not until the sixties when she was fairly advanced in life that she planned her first visit to the Country. Her Indian contacts proved very useful and she was met everywhere without reserve.

She was already well known in England and carried letters

of introduction from important people, including the Secretary of State, Lord Northcote, to the Viceroy and Governors in India who offered her every facility to see things for herself.[X] Lady Lawrence even invited her to stay at the Government House. The Government was not shy of her as a meddling missionary seeking to complicate the difficult problem of Indian administration. In her the Government saw a woman of remarkable ability whose fame and experience amply qualified her to tender advice on the difficult and delicate task of educating Indian girls. But her somewhat domineering personality and despotic spirit made co-operation difficult.[XX] Her rather uncompromising nature made her unwilling to pledge her support to any official views and she refused to accept any Government post.[XXX] Despite these shortcomings her influence with the Government was considerable,[O] and it was largely under her inspiration that the latter allotted large sums of money for the establishment of Female Normal Schools.[XO] She spurred the Government to greater activity. "The time, I believe, is now fully come," she declared, "When we must make a united effort to obtain the adoption of such measures as

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X. Mary Carpenter: Six Months in India Vol.I.p.199 and 275
E.Carpenter : Life of Mary Carpenter p.253.
XX. Ibid, p.290
XXX. Ibid, p.275
O. Report on Public Instruction Bombay 1866-67, p.40. The Director referred with gratitude to Miss Carpenter's visit as "external and private stimulus to the cause of female education."
XO. See Chapter VIII.

will inaugurate this great work.While I honour and highly appreciate every effort which is being made by individuals or religious bodies to aid in female education, and while I am aware that the Government has always been ready to second these by grants-in-aid, yet we all know that the male portion of the community could never have attained its present condition if the Government had not taken the initiative in founding Schools intraining teachers".[X] This utterance was typical of her; there was no criticism but a shrewd appreciation of the situation and a pointer to the future.[XX]

Still more remarkable was the way she won over the Indians who were completely convinced of her sincerity. The emphatic declaration about her religious position and the honesty with which she abided by it, certainly did a great deal to offset their general suspicion of British philanthropy. She wrote with deep conviction, "I did not go out to India as a religious missionary. I was as I constantly assured my native friends (in answer to their enquiries), unconnected with any Society or organisation, and was quite alone. Though as I publicly stated in every place I visited, I value Christianity above all things .... yet I would not if I could, obtrude my own religion upon them".[XXX] She even stayed with progressive Indian families

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X. Mary Carpenter: Six months in India, Vol. 1. p.274.
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XXX. Mary Carpenter: " months in India, Vol. II. p.216.
E.Carpenter : Life of Mary Carpenter p.259.

and it is a tribute to her personality that considering the state of Anglo-Indian society no eye-brows were raised. She realised that mere instruction was not enough; it must be cemented by closer personal intercourse.[X]

Perhaps her most important achievement was the foundation of the National Indian Association with branches all over India and an office in England.[XX] It was an organisation composed of Indians and Europeans, officials and non-officials, to help Indian students in England and in India. It devoted particular attention to Zenana instruction in Madras. Elsewhere it awarded "Mary Carpenter Scholarships" to girls in Primary Schools.[XXX] In fact it was intimately connected with the welfare of Indians, particularly in England.

This did not exhaust the list of her activities. She visited Prisons and submitted a detailed report on how the lot of women prisoners could be improved.[XXXX] Many of these recommendations were accepted by the Government. Everywhere she went she watched closely for ways in which she could be most helpful. Determined, but devoid of the aggressiveness of the Feminists, she was a true friend of the women of India. She was more

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X. Journal of National Indian Association April 1876, p.116.
XX. See Chapter VI, p.437
XXX. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal 1878-79, p.82.
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interested in persons than in imposing her own ideas, religious or moral, upon them. She was genuinely disinterested and had no other motive than the improvement of the conditions of Indian women. So accepted the framework of Indian Society and realised that there was no hope of mass-conversions to Christianity and that women must be reached through their own religions. It was imperative that the Indian woman should not be uprooted from her moorings and allowed to drift by over-emphasising the intellectual aspect of education at the expense of emotional. She she was prepared to accept the Indian religions as a basis rather than ignore "Feeling" altogether. What is more through her book "Six Months in India", she seems to have succeeded in conveying this idea to some of her compatriots in India.[X]

Herein lay the secret of her success, the appeal to the heart and not to the head. All contemporary and later literature on the education of Indian women warmly records her services to the Cause.[XX] Had there been more such silent and tolerant workers, Quakers rather than Evangelicals, western education of Indian women would have advanced much more rapidly.

As it was, in the absence of the economic incentive, the

X. Calcutta Review, Vol. XLVII, 1868, p.22-23.
XX. Indian Education Commission Report 1884, p.525
Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report 1884, p.31.
Bombay " " " " " , p.524.

education of girls lagged far behind that of boys. "While there were in 1881-82, nearly 2,400,000 boys under Primary instruction in India..., there were only 122,806 girls at school. The percentage of children at school to the total population of school-going age was 8·29; but of boys at school to the male population of that age, it was 15·48, and of girls to female population only ·81".[X]

X. Indian Education Commission Report 1884, p.150.

CHAPTER VI

THE GROWTH OF ZENANA INSTRUCTION AND OTHER SPECIAL SCHOOLS 1820-82

SECTION A

THE ZENANA SYSTEM

It is not easy to describe the characteristic features of this system of education. In this chapter the term "Zenana Instruction" is used in rather an unusual sense to include all instruction more advanced than the Kindergarten stage which was not imparted in public or private schools. Domestic education of the women of the upper classes which enabled them to read the sacred books and to keep simple accounts had always been a striking feature of Indian life. But early marriage, Pardah and the prevailing custom forbade them to attend public institutions for instruction. To obviate these special difficulties and to reach them in conformity with the social usage of the country, the missionaries had to devise a plan of taking instruction to the women in their own homes. Hence it came to be styled the Zenana system of education - Zenana meaning the inner courtyard round which the women dwelt. Originally it was meant to supplement the instruction imparted to them by the male members of the family or that given earlier in any of the schools. But in their anxiety to reach them, the missionaries seized every

opening that was offered to them. Hence occasionally we get the curious picture in a Zenana of grandmothers, mothers and daughters studying together, their ages varying from four to seventy-four.[1]

There are many claimants to the honour of being the founders of this system. In fact there is much confusion in the literature on the subject. Thus The Reverend G.Gogerley claims that his wife was the first missionary teacher to gain access to a zenana through the assistance of Ram Mohun Roy. He describes the first visit to a zenana where the women were found draped in expensive clothes and jewellery but illiterate.[2] However, he does not mention whether these visits to the Zenanas were continued, or even if there was any real plan behind it. Besides he wrote his book nearly forty years later and there is little to show if he remembered the date correctly and did not exaggerate the importance of the visit in the light of after events. Similarly Mr.Leupolt claims in his re-collections 1832-72 that his wife who was sent out by the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East as Miss Jones was the first to get access to a Rajput Zenana and gives an interesting account of her visit.[3] Again Mrs. C.B.Lewis

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1. Indian Female Evangelist. Vol. iii, p.114.
   Calcutta Christian Observer, March 1840. P.126.
2. The Reverend G.Gogerlet: The Pioneers p.138.
3. The Zenana for March 1901, p.74.

in her Tract on the origins of Zenana work ascribes the first efforts to Mrs.W.H.Pearce and other ladies who in 1824 tried to open up the Zenanas but without much success.[1] Later on she mentions Miss Byrd as the first unmarried lady to engage in such missionary work. The Reverend K.M.Bannerjee thought that P.K.Tagore's daughter, who had a European governess, was the first Indian lady to cultivate European letters in the home.[2] Others considered later missionaries like Dr.Duff, Dr.Thomas Smith, Rev. W.Forster, Mrs.Sale, Mrs. Mullens to be the originators of the system.[3] The truth seems to be that there were many individuals who were experimenting with the idea of taking education to the homes of upper caste women between 1820 and 1840 when as a result of the data thus collected various systematic schemes were propounded with this definite object in view. The next stage was for these schemes to become a recognised part of the educational activities of local missionary societies, and a little later the home authorities became keenly interested in this novel field.

However, a better-attested account, because it is written soon after the event and is confirmed quite independently by

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1. C.B.Lewis: origins of Zenana Work, India Office Tracts 637.
2. K.M.Bannerjee: Native Female Education, p.114-16.
3. Helen Montgomery: Western Women in Eastern Lands, p.168.
   J.Dennis: Christian Missions and Social Reform Vol.II.p.257
   J.Mullens: Ten Years of Missionary Labour in India, p.145.

Mrs.Wilson[1] not much later, comes from the Journals of Mr.Jetter and for the sake of clarity it is better to quote at length from him. On August 2, 1822, he wrote: "In the afternoon, I went to Kidderpore, and called upon the sons of Kolly Shunker Ghossal; with whom, I had among other things, a conversation on Female Education I met with no great objection from them, as to the propriety of educating females; but they are altogether adverse to sending their ladies out of their house. They said, that if I were to send a European lady to their house, they'd gladly receive her, and willingly give her something for her trouble. I promised to consult some Ladies, and let them know the result."

The Journal continues: "I call at Kolly Shunker's, whether they'd now accept of the services of a European Lady for instructing their females." 'Yes,' said the eldest son, 'we shall gladly accept of it'..... I proceeded to Kidderpore; and introduced Mrs. Trawin (wife of the Rev. Mr.Trawin, Missionary of the London Missionary Society, who lives at Kidderpore) to Kolly Shunker's family, as the instructor of their females. Miss Cooke had it not in her power to supply them. Mrs. Trawin was received very kindly, both by the Baboos and their Ladies; and particularly by the Mother of the sons; who, as Mrs. Trawin told me, was very glad, and began to speak

1. Church Missionary Society Register August 1923, p.359. Miss Cooke's letter to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society confirming the inauguration of Zenana teaching by Mr. Jetter and Mrs. Trawin.
In Calcutta Christian Observer March 1840 p.127 Mrs.Wilson further reiterates this fact.

with her in Bengali, which Mrs. Trawin speaks very well. She will give them instruction both in English and Bengali. This I hope will be the beginning of great things: the ice is now broken, and access, in a degree, secured for the Blessed Gospel..." [1]

This account shows how simple the beginning was. Like most human institutions it began as a spontaneous response to a given situation, growing, developing, and changing according to the demands made upon it. No doubt the missionaries must have been thinking about their failure to reach the higher castes and were ready to seize upon any opportunity that would give them access to this particular section of the population. For all that appears the subject came up casually. Mr. Jetter acceded to the request owing to the friendly feelings he entertained towards the Babus and was hardly conscious of the importance of the occasion. The Ghosals belonged to a literary caste of Bengal and presumably their women had always been instructed by the men within the home. As such they were less circumscribed by caste and custom than the Brahmins though by virtue of their landed estates they enjoyed an almost equal prestige. They saw no harm in getting a European lady to teach their women which not only eased their own responsibility

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1. Extracts from the Journals of Mr.Jetter. Church Missionary Society Register 1823, p.356-57.

but would probably provide an opportunity for the much coveted intercourse with Europeans.[1] The emphasis on the teacher's European origin was unmistakable and it was clear that none of the products of any girls' schools in India would have been accepted. No mention was made of fees but the fact that the Baboos offered to pay the teacher 'something' for her trouble suggests that they were not merely passive agents - victims of Mr.Jetter's enthusiasm for female education. Mr.Jetter though a missionary of the C.M.S. found that the most suitable person available on the spot for this work was Mrs. Trawin, wife of a missionary of the L.M.S. But he did not hesitate to recommend her; and this suggests a certain degree of co-operation at this time different from the competitive spirit that later on impaired the work of the Zenana missions. Mrs. Trawin was reputed to have a good knowledge of Bengali which made matters much easier. Not only could she teach Bengali and English, but her knowledge of the vernacular probably enabled her to win over more readily the older ladies from their prejudices against female education. In fact much of the success of an individual teacher depended upon her knowledge of the vernaculars. It is also interesting to note that no difficulty was experienced about religious instruction. Bible teaching was not made a precondition of instruction, nor did the Ghosals stipulate that

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1. Indian Female Evangelist, Vol. I, p.172.

there should b e none.

Thus most of the leading features of the later Zenana Missionary activity can be discerned in this early venture. It was education given under Pardah to upper caste and higher class Indian women who probably already possessed the elements of learning. It was undertaken by a European lady teacher with a view to the introduction of the Bible among them though she received payment for secular instruction only. However, as the religious character of her educational efforts unfolded itself, the opposition became stronger. The neighbours disapproved of a Christian lady giving instruction and in the end after a few months the visits had to be discontinued [1] - a situation that was to recur. It is also interesting to note that in point of time this earliest beginning of Zenana teaching was contemporary with much general activity on behalf of female education.

For the next two decades individual missionaries of various societies continued their efforts to reach this section of the population and were partially successful.[2] The idea spread to other provinces and it seemed that some Indians did at least favour it, even in such remote and diverse places as Palamcottah in the wilds of S.India and Calcutta, capital

1. Mrs. Wilson in Calcutta Christian Observer March 1840, p.127.
2. Church Missionary Register July 1838, p.328 - Correspondence of the Eastern Female Society.

city of the British Dominions. They were willing to employ European women to instruct a certain number of their women gathered together in the Zenanas. They were ready to pay the expenses, to provide an Indian assistant teacher and required the European woman only to superintend her.[1]

Advantage had to be taken of this feeling as the older women were a hindrance to the spread of girls' education and it was necessary to educate them as well. This could best be attempted very gradually in the Zenanas as it would be too risky to give grown up women freedom of social intercourse to which they had not been accustomed.[2]

It was round about 1840 that systematic thought was given to the subject and more definite schemes were put forward. The girls' day schools had now been in operation for almost twenty

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1. Miss Craven's letter dated Palamcottah Nov.15, 1837. Miss Saville's " " Calcutta Feb. 9, 1842. In the Church of Scotland Records. (Miscellaneous).
2. Calcutta Christian Advocate March 14, 1840 p.391 "Advanced women have a great obstacle to public education, for their sudden introduction to male society, may be accessory to those very evils which affected the ladies of France when they were suffered to have worldly intercourse; and though those disadvantages being temporary, have at last been productive of innumerable benefits, I would not create disturbances in the present families of India for the uncertain good of the future Elderly women must endeavour to make a more commodious shift for the cultivation of their minds. Let husbands, waking from their lethargy, instil into their wives precepts of morality and virtue, still secluding them however from Society until they are prepared for such an innovation without any injury to themselves or their families. Young girls of India can have a more convenient way of education: ~~in~~ public schools conducted by respectable ladies, may be established where their age may allow them to frequent unmolested. Instructed from their infancy they may make sufficient progress in learning at the age of 10 or 11."

years. It was thought at first that the upper castes would be obliged to send their daughters to the schools when they saw the lower castes surpassing them in education. But since no economic motive operated in the case of girls, the prestige of caste was not affected by their inability to read and write. Hence education failed to spread upwards[1] and the curious situation was created where the 'maitranee' could read and write while the wife of the Baboo could not. In fact the very popularity of education in the lower castes, lowered its value in the eyes of the higher castes and stamped it as something undesirable in itself.[X] The missionaries realised that no permanent influence could be attained among the population as a whole until a more 'systematic and intellectual plan' were adopted to 'affect the higher and middling classes of female society.'[2] The Day and Boarding schools had certainly spread abroad the idea of female education. Any such theoretical objections as "you may as well teach a cow to read" if ever tenaciously held, had been proved to be false. It was high time that the missionaries gave direct thought to this subject of reaching high caste women. Prizes were advertised for essays

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1. George Gogerley: Pioneers p.137-38. India Office Tracts 637: p.3 Mrs. C.B.Lewis: Origins of Zenana work.

X. London Missionary Society Records: South India, Kanarese Box 4. Folder 4. Jacket C. Letter from Rev.J.Sewell dated Bangalore August 17, 1840.

2. Calcutta Christian Advocate May 4, 1839, p.9-10.
John Wilson: Evangelisation of India, p.459.
Church Missionary Register July 1840, p.341.

on female education, and much attention in writing and discussion was focussed on the subject.

Among the people who made the greatest constructive contributions were the Rev. Dr. Thomas Smith and the Rev. K.M.Bannerjee.[1] They realised that there was scope for reaching the upper caste women specially in the case of those families where the men had received an English education. But to do so successfully, a compromise with the social prejudices of the country was essential. The Rev. K.M. Bannerjee pointed out that in the prevailing state of public opinion the upper class girls could not be expected to resort to the schools of the inferior classes. In fact the strict observance of Pardah prevented them from going to schools of any sort and hence education had to be given to them in their own homes.[x] He justified it on the grounds that it would give education a social prestige which it had hitherto lacked. The Christian Church need have no qualms of conscience about compromising with the Pardah system, for he cited the precedent of Greece, where the church had instructed women in Catechisms in their own apartments, employing for this purpose aged and experienced widows free from domestic duties. These were

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1. Bengal Protestant Missionary Conference Proceedings of 1855, p.151.
X. K.M.Bammerjee in Calcutta Christian Observer March 1840,p.127.

called "deaconesses" and had been especially trained to teach in the households. In India such an agency seemed to him to be doubly justified as the women were not only generally inaccessible to the Gospel which was preached by the male missionaries but they also formed the chief obstacle to the conversion of the male members of the family.[1] The high percentage of young widows and the necessity to better their condition was an additional recommendation. But in his opinion it was equally important for Europeans to change their own social behaviour. There was not much social intercourse between the races; consequently the elevating influence of female education was merely a matter of hearsay to the Indians who had no actual experience of the superiority of educated women. The social gulf that existed between the races prevented Indians from realising that the superiority of European women lay in their education. Hence he commended for wider imitation the practice of a European gentleman who held a mixed conversazione at his home periodically. This would be preaching by example rather than by precept and could not fail to have effect.[2]

Not only did he recognise the intimate connection between

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1. K.M.Bannerjee: Essay on Female Education p.109-112.
2. " " " " " " p.129-30.

female educatipn and social conditions but he was equally aware of the importance of the economic condition of the people. It was not enough that education should be imparted by a European woman in seclusion to high caste girls only; it must also be free. In their low economic position Indians could not afford to indulge in the luxury of female education which promised no direct economic returns. This was particularly true because the new scheme would, in the first instance, be welcomed by the youths educated at the Hindu College with their moderate incomes rather than by rich orthodox Hindus.[1] Besides, Indians could not be expected to conform to European standards in educating girls until equal value were placed on Indian and European labour. "In proportion", says he, "as the Government and Europeans may breathe greater liberality of feeling towards the Hindus and discontinue the unchristian and inhuman practice of putting a lower value upon the native than upon European labour, even when both are equally useful and efficient, the case of female emancipation must be on the advance and keep pace with the general progress of knowledge and civilisation."[2] In the circumstances education must be free and with this object he proposed an Association of Europeans

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1. K.M.Bannerjee: Essay on Native Female Education, p.126.
2. K.M.Bannerjee: Calcutta Review Vol.XXV, p.98.
   The case of Annanda Mazoomdar aroused great interest at the time. see Appendix VI.

and Indians for the dissemination of European knowledge in the Zenanas. The Government was requested to patronise Zenana instruction and to come forward with generous support. 'Foreign bodies' were implored to help liberally with funds and to provide Zenana teachers especially as suitable Indian women would not be available for some years.

A similar plan was advocated by Dr.T.Smith who pleaded for education to be made respectable by being imparted to the higher classes. As the practice of seclusion prevented them from taking advantage of the schools it was to be given in their own homes and without any payment of fees. Hence he asked for three European female teachers to be sent from England for this purpose, two of whom were to give house to house instruction and one to conduct a school with native assistance. In all about a hundred and fifty women were to be thus instructed publicly and privately at an approximate cost of five to six hundred pounds per annum.[1]

These interesting schemes showed a comprehensive grasp of the situation but failed as they were premature. It was the day of small beginnings, as 1830 had been in the education of boys. But the youths of 1830 were the fathers of 1850.[2] The

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1. Dr. Thomas Smith on Zenana Teaching: Calcutta Christian Observer, March 1840, p.124-25.
2. G.Smith: Life of Alexander Duff, p.300. Bengal Protestant Missionary Conference, 1855, p.151.

result was seen in the foundation of the Bethune School and later on of Duff's Central School for High Caste girls. Here they received the elements of learning but normally left at the early age of eleven when they married. They could not be persuaded to attend school after marriage and were soon lost sight of. The idea occurred that their education could probably be continued if a female teacher was sent to give instruction in their own homes. This idea of continuation classes which was born out of the prevailing social usage of the country was in advance of anything that was known in contemporary England. Here was posed for the first time the problem of keeping in touch with children after they had left school. It has hardly yet been solved satisfactorily. The answer of the missionaries was, however, to follow them up in the Zenanas. The female teachers necessary for this work were to be provided by the Indian Female Normal School which had been founded in March 1852.[X] That this would be quite a practical proposition was shown in the successful employment of Miss Toogood by P.C.Tagore to teach his family.[1]

The Rev. Dr. Thomas Smith and the Rev. J.Fordyce, both of the Church of Scotland Mission, envisaged another scheme in February 1855 with this object in view. There was little in it

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X. See Chapter VIII. p. 576
1. Eugene Stock: Zenana March 1901, p.74.

that was entirely new but to them belongs the honour of erecting Zenana teaching into a system and popularising it by public advocacy and efficient practical organisation.[1] They set about the business very carefully and their achievement lay chiefly in its complete execution. At first they informally consulted some of the most influential Indians and secured their support. They promised to keep their names secret[2] lest they should be exposed to the taunts of their more orthodox countrymen. Then they carried out a vigorous campaign in the Press[3] and published a large amount of propagandist literature to familiarise the public with their ideas. In these they exhorted the enlightened, wealthy and educated widowers and bachelors to marry educated women rather than choose wives for their beauty, wealth or family. They were asked to establish Associations and act in the cause of social reform such as the abolition of polygamy and introduction of widow remarriage. The wealthy were requested to subscribe to the education of poor but respectable people. Government officials were told that if they could not punish neglect they could at least encourage enthusiasm for female education among their subordinates. They printed a series of Papers entitled 'the Fly-Leaves'[4] and

1. J.Dennis: Christian Missions and Social Progress Vol.II,p.257.
2. Bangal Protestant Missionary Conference 1855, p.151.
3. K.S.Macdonald: Story of Bengal Missions, p.83.
4. Fly-leaves 1855. Church of Scotland Records. Miscellaneous Papers.

addressed them to the 'Rajahs, Baboos and the Rulers of India' (i.e. the Government) giving an outline of the Plan with all the advantages that were to accrue from its adoption and above all appealing to them for help.

The plan itself was simple. It was to establish an institution devoted to the cause of Zenana education where 'free-home' was to be provided for the governesses. Each of these European women was to be accompanied by an Indian assistant "or at least an Ayah, in order to sustain the respectability of the scheme and to secure the fuller confidence of its supporters." This concession would have been inexcusable were it not realised that this was a mere euphemism to hide European teachers' ignorance of the vernaculars which rendered the employment of Indian assistants necessary. The salary of the governesses was to be raised from forty to a hundred rupees per month. It was necessary not only to attract a better type of person but to permit her to devote her whole time and attention to the work. It was hoped that this would not bear too heavily on the Missions.

The Government was asked to provide liberal grants for the initial expenditure, while the local Missionary Societies and the Home Societies would share the balance of this expenditure. the current expenses were to come out of fees. These were to be levied on a sliding scale. Those living within the city limits were th pay 16 Rupees per month while those in the suburbs 25 rupees per month. They were not to vary with the numbers

instructed in a particular Zenana so that it would be correspondingly cheaper if one or more families joined together to share the cost among themselves.

It was hoped that this would not only be more economical in saving the time of the teacher but would also give a fillip to education. At first several contiguous families would have an inducement to form what the Fly-Leaves call a "Private Select School" to get instruction cheaper than would be the case if the teachers were asked to visit them individually. Once a few groups of this sort were in operation it would not be so difficult to establish "Public Select Schools" which would form larger and therefore cheaper groups differentiated according to definite rules of admission, as for example, admitting only members of a specific caste. From this would follow by natural process oftransition general day schools for middle-class girls. Probably in order to make acceptance of the Plan by the Home Society easier they emphasised its transitional character. It would seem that they did not recognise the principle that the higher castes were entitled to separate schools for their ostensible aim was still the establishment of general day schools. The plan was only to popularise the idea of female education among them and the bait of cheapness was expected to induce the necessary transition.

Its authorsargued that there was little risk in this and that its success in a way was guaranteed by the results already obtained. Mr.Fordyce bought a carriage for a teacher

for 435 Rupees out of his own pocket. He got a European lady to visit the Zenanas where her services were acceptable. He levied fees at the rates mentioned above and the accounts he published showed that current expenses could be successfully covered by fees. Thus the expenditure for the period February 1 - October 1855 amounted to Rupees 452 - 2 annas, 2pies. inclusive of salaries, while the receipts from fees came to rupees 432.[1] It would be nicely balanced if the society contributed sixty rupees a month for the maintenance of the conveyance.

Even though the later stages were not realised and the expected transition was not effected the initial scheme began to prosper. It was adopted by most of the local missionary societies in its outline and came to be recognised as a branch of their educational work. Mrs.Sale and Mrs.Mullens introduced the attraction of teaching embroidery and by this means opened several new Zenanas. The scope of Zenana activities was later widened by including the Bible-Woman and the woman medical missionary within its purview. The Home Societies not only recognised this branch of mission activity but soon tended to give more attention to it, sometimes even at the expense of other fields of work.

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1. Fly-Leaves: Church of Scotland Records.

							Receipts
From One Babu	for	8	months	at Rs 25	p.m.	received	Rs 200
" Two	"	8	"	" Rs 16	p.m.	"	Rs 128
" Three	"	8	"	" Rs 16	p.m.	"	RS 128
					Total -		Rs 432

The causes that led to the success of this scheme as against the failure of the earlier ones consisted in a fortunate combination of several circumstances previously lacking. Men's education by this time had made considerable advances and educated men were actually seeking educated wives.[1] Hence education had become valuable in the matrimonial market where it had always been difficult to dispose of high caste girls. The Bethune school had been established in 1849, followed by Duff's central school for High Caste Girls some years later.[2] The girls leaving these schools at the age of eleven or twelve provided a natural nucleus.[3] It was only later on that the wisdom of confining Zenana work to women who had been to school began to be questioned and the work extended to giving elementary instruction.[4] Besides the establishment of the Calcutta Female Normal School in 1851 promised a regular supply of teaching.[5] It was also the time when agitation for social reform was convulsing Hindu society. The great Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar succeeded in getting his Widow Remarriage Act passed in 1856. The general

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1. Tracts 637 Mrs.C.B.Lewis: Origins of Zenana work, p.2. Indian Female Evangelist Vol. I, p.176. Mrs. C.Mackenzie: Life in a Zenana, vol.III, p.219. G.Smith: Life of A.Duff p.194-5; 213.
2. K.S.Macdonald: The Story of our Bengal Missions, p.74.
3. Free Church of Scotland Female Education Society. Society's Report 1867 "Bengal".
4. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal, 1878-79, p.83.
5. The Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society: Private and Confidential Papers Presented to Queen Victoria December 1868, p.6.

advance in public opinion in the matter of female education was quite apparent from the fact that the plan succeeded beyond expectations even though its character required the recognition of the principle that education must be paid for. Though it suffered a temporary eclipse during the mutiny, yet Calcutta was relatively undisturbed, and henceforth it was destined to make good progress especially as the Government had come out with generous support in its 'frank and cordial' acceptance of female education in the Despatch of 1854. It also received an additional stimulus from the United States of America after 1860. The civil war of 1861-64 gave a great impetus to the Women's Movement in America. Its close saw the launching of scores of women's organisations and the prejudice against sending out unmarried women as missionaries practically disappeared. In 1861 was formed the Women's Union Missionary Society on an inter-denominational basis.[1] The Zenana field specially appealed to American women. They sent both teachers and money and greatly contributed to the extension and development of the Zenana system of instruction.

The movement soon extended to other parts of Northern India especially to the North Western Provinces and the Punjab where Pardah and orthodoxy were strongly entrenched and where male education had not made the same advances as in Bengal.

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1. Helen Montgomery: Western Women in Eastern Lands, pp.10, 11, 25.

The general impression prevailed that as Moslems of those parts were more orthodox, their women could only be reached through the agency of the Zenanas. As difficulties were anticipated in reaching the Moslems, it was determined to begin work among the Bengalis who formed the bulk of the Civil Service and who in consequence were expected to be more enlightened.[1] However, the work quickly spread to the Moslems and Zenana teaching flourished at such centres of population as Lucknow, Delhi and Lahore.[2] The movement never gained equal importance in the South and West of India chiefly owing to the relative rarity of Pardah and the consequent greater freedom enjoyed. Nevertheless it had some spectacular successes. In 1864 Miss Blandford arrived in Trevandrum and began to instruct two girls and a boy in the fort. Soon afterwards she was instructing the daughter of Dewan Sir Madhava Rao and a young married cousin who wanted to learn English. She was invited to the Palace by the eldest prince to instruct his wife and a young Rani. By 1866 she had thirty-five girls under instruction. The Maharajah also asked his wife to be instructed and the work had expanded so much that a second

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1. Indian Female Evangelist Vol. I, p.308.
2. Article in the Zenana March 1901, p.74. Panjab Provincial Education Committee Report 1884, p.61.
F.W.Thomas: British Education in India p.96.

teacher was supplied.[1] The work done by Mrs. Bauboo also attracted much notice.[2]

In Bombay Maneckjee Cursetjee carried on a long correspondence with Bethune on the subject of education of women in general and of his daughter in particular.[3]. He employed a European woman to instruct her. The daughter then herself undertook to instruct others. Other gentlemen also employed European women in the same capacity.[O] The most notable example was that of the ladies in the household of the Maharajah of Kolhapur.[OX] Unfortunately no information is supplied on this subject of Zenana instruction by the Reports of Public Instruction in either Madras or Bombay.[4] However, on the whole in Western India, schools remained more popular than Zenana teaching and little difficulty was experienced in getting eleven to twelve years' old girls to schools even after their

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1. The Indian Female and Normal School and Instruction Society. Paper Presented to Queen Victoria December 1868, pp.24-28. "Private and Confidential" lent by the Courtesy of the Zenana Bible Missionary Society.
2. India Office Tracts 637. Zenana work p.42. S.Satthianadhan: Sketches of Indian Christians, p.29.
3. India Office Tracts Number 156 Maneckjee Cursetjee and J.E.D. Bethune on Female Education.
O. Church of Scotland Records: Letter from Dr.John Wilson dated Bombay August 26, 1863 to Hislop of Nagpur. (Letters of Wilson Bundle)
OX. Moral and Material Progress of India Report 1878-79, p.99.
4. Bombay Provincial Education Committee Report 1884, Vol, 1, p.70, and 152,156.

marriage. This was perhaps due to the laxity of the Pardah system and the influence exercised by the minorities like the Parsis, Jews and Jains. Thus college graduates, instead of teaching their women in the homes, founded the students Literary and Scientific Society to give free instruction to girls assembled in small schools and classes. Later these were transferred to the various communal organisations.[1] No doubt parallel Zenana teaching went on side by side with this in the more orthodox homes. But in these publicity was to be avoided and Hence the absence of any statistics.[2] In Bengal detailed returns were available for Calcutta only.[3]

Nevertheless, the Zenana system of education had clearly grown and developed in the sixty years following its obscure beginnings in 1822. By 1882 in Bengal alone six missionary societies were engaged in this field of work.[4] The number of women under Zenana instruction in the whole of India was over 9000.[5]

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1. Ibid Vol.II, Memorials pp.21-23.
2. Ibid Vol. I, p.153. J.Mullens: Ten Years of Missionary Labour in India. p.146 and 148.
   Bengal Education Report 1859-60 app.A.p.20
3. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report 1884, p.109.
4. Report of Bengal Provincial Committee to Hunter Education Commission 1884, p.109. (1) Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (2) The Church of Scotland (3) The Free Church (4) The American Mission. (5) The Ladies' Association of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. (6) The Baptish Mission.
5. Indian Education Commission Report 1884. General Table No.16 P.IX. The number increased from 1997 in 1870-71 to 9132 in 1881-82.

Meanwhile it is interesting to record the variety of efforts directed towards reaching the women of the higher castes. The Report of the Church Missionary Society for 1823 says : "Certain it is, that since her Ladyship's (Marchioness of Hastings) visit tothe schools, the Mistress of the Shayum Bazar school (the only Female Teacher whom the Committee could at first find) has been called upon to instruct a respectable Brahminee, a widow, with two other adult females, at her own house, during the hours she is not occupied in the school; and this widowed Brahminee, though herself still a learner, attends daily at the house of a Brahmin, to instruct his two daughters."[1] The striking thing about this passage is that the impulse here came from the visit of the vicereine rather than that of a missionary. Similarly though the Mistress of the Shayam Bazar school was employed by the Church Missionary Society, this was not directly a Christian missionary effort. Besides it might be regarded as an example of double Zenana teaching. The teacher taught tha Brahminee who in her turn undertook to instruct other high caste women at her own home or at theirs. Here probably was also being faced unconsciously the problem of finding Zenana teachers and this might have served as a precedent for it was recorded in the Report. It was probably from this that the idea emerged of providing such teachers from Mrs.Wilson's Boarding Schools.[2]

1. Church Missionary Society Report 1823, p.117.
2. Extract from a "Private letter from a gentleman holding a high civil appointment in Bengal: B:R.Noel: Sermon on Female Education p.31.

A shade different from these was the purely Indian effort to educate their women. The Upper Classes, both Hindu and Mohammedan, had always given the elements of learning to their women which enabled tham to keep simple household accounts and read the secred books.[1] But they were reluctant to talk about the women of their households and consequently little information is available on the subject.[2] Domestic instruction, however, received an impetus when the first batch of students educated at the Hindu College passed out. In many instances they tried to educate their wives. This was not an easy task as social usage interdicted the meeting of husband and wife during the day-time and in general their views were not approved of by the older people.[3] The social force or perhaps more truly the general opinion of the women of the household was against the husband undertaking the education of his wife, hence literally the burning of midnight oil had to be kept secret.[X] In these circumstances it must have been difficult for the husband and wife tired out after the day's hard work to sit down to pore over dry text books.[4] The failure of the experiment under these adverse conditions would not have

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1. Parliamentary Papers Vol. XLII 1857-58,p.397.
1. Adam: Report on the state of Education in Bengal 1836, P.131 ar and 233 (British Museum copy).
   B.Tyabji quoted in Bombay Ed. Committee Report 1884 Appendix p.70.
2. Calcutta Review Vol. XXV, September 1855, p.66 and Vol.XXXVI 1861,P.315. Also S.C.Dutt: India Past and Present,p.176.
3. Sivanath Sastri: Life of Ram Tanu Lahiri p,105. Quoting from Ram Copal Ghosh's Diary November 1839.
X. G.Smith: Life of A.Duff, P.215. K.M.Bannerjee in Calcutta Christian Observer, March 1840, p.129.
4. Mrs.C.Mackenzie: Life in Zenana Vol. III, p.219.

necessarily proved any incapacity of the women to learn, yet the consequences might have been disastrous for matrimonial harmony. The husband might feel disappointed in his wife with consequent loss of affection between them largely brought about by circumstances.[1] In very rare cases the husband defied this interdict. Thus Sasipada Bannerjee taught his wife and sister-in-law in day-time in full view of his family.[2]

The missionary system of Zenana instruction had certainly the advantage that it gave education in the day-time when the mind was fresh while the prestige of a European lady counteracted to a certain extent the hostility of the older ladies.[3] But the system where instruction was imparted by the male members of the family had the advantage that women could be educated quietly in the home without the neighbours knowing about it; the visit of a European woman necessarily aroused interest and caused no little stir.[4] However, that may be, the educated men desired educated wives, daughters and sisters and hence the education of women by the men made some progress.[5] It was as yet unorganised.

The necessity of organising and giving this kind of domestic instruction some coherent form was recognised[6] and led to the foundation of the Ooterparah Hitkarini Sabha in 1863.[7] Soon

1. Calcutta Review Vol. XXV September 1855, p.91.
2. S.Tattvabhushan: Social Reform in Bengal, p.58.
3. K.M.Bannerjee in Calcutta Christian Observer March 1840, p.129
4. Mrs.Wilson in " " " " " p.127
5. Sivanath Sastri: Life of Ram Tanu Lahiri p.141. H.Das: Life and Letters of Toru Dutt, P.14-15.
6. The Bengal Hurkaru May 8, 1849. Editorial on Bethune's Speech at the opening ceremony of his School.
7. Journal of National Indian Association, 1875. P.207.

after more Sabhas and other bodies under the general name of Zenana Associations were established by educated Indian gentlemen with the same object in view.[1] Apparently in imitation of the universities these were in the main examining bodies.[2] At the beginning of each year they prescribed text-books in literature, history, geography, arithmetic and science according to different standards. These were studied by the ladies with such help from the male members of the family as they were able to obtain. At the end of the year they were examined in their Zenanas by printed question papers, superintended by invigilators whose trustworthiness was certified by members of the Association or by the inspecting officers of the district. And 'it may be assumed that the examination was fairly conducted'.[3] The answers were judged by a Central Board and on their results prizes, useful or ornamental, were awarded to those showing creditable proficiency.

The Zenana Associations used these examinations chiefly as an index of proficiency already attained. The Hitkarini Sabha used it not only to measure achievement but also to promote further education. Hence it awarded scholarships as well which encouraged the girls to continue their studies. It also interested itself in education given to girls in affiliated

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1. Such as Bikrampore Saumalini Sabha of Dacca, the Myensingh Saumalini Sabha, the Zenana Associations of Fureedpore, Backergunge, Balasore: Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report 1882, p.110.
2. Report of Public Instruction Bengal 1875-76, p.87.
3. Director Public Instruction Report Bengal 1876-77, p.78.

and other schools and examined candidates.[1] It aimed at providing a sound basis of elementary education which could be used as a stepping stone to higher or university education. On the other hand the education given by the Zenana Associations was less completely organised, was imparted in the hame and emphasised the cultural rather than the intellectual side of education.

These bodies received liberal aid from the Government, those in the Dacca Division alone receiving Rupees 450 per annum. But at least an equal amount had to be contributed from private sources.[2] Thus local interest minimised the chances of cheating at the examinations and the consequent misuse of funds.

In 1875 of the 32 candidates who appeared for the examination 22 were married and 10 unmarried. Their ages ranged from 9 to 13 years. Thus even married girls had little objection to appearing at these examinations. It is not surprising, for the examinations were held in the home and

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1. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report 1882, p.110.

	School Examinations held by the Ooterparah Hitkarini Sabha	Zenana Examinations held by the Sabha
Number of Candidates	85	5
" " successful Candidates	50	4
" that obtained Scholarships	40	-

2. Report of Public Instruction Bengal 1874-75, p.96.

unlike the missionary schemes, received little publicity. Since the education given was of a purely secular character, their religious prejudices were not violated. The greatest advantage of this system over a school system was that its influence extended over a whole district instead of a small locality.[1] In this way these Sabhas and Associations did particularly good work in East Bengal.[2] Even the hope of using the knowledge thus imparted as a basis for higher education was to a certain extent realised.[O] Miss Kadambini Bose, one of the first two girls to take the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University in 1878 and later its Degree, had held the scholarships awarded by the Hitkari Sabha.[(O)]

The scheme for Zenana instruction took different forms in different Provinces. In Panjab, the Government instead of encouraging such Indian associations, sought to employ the already existing machinery. It encouraged the family-priests to teach women of respectable families in their own homes. They were to be remunerated at the rate of ten rupees per mensem for every woman taught. A little later this was reduced to six rupees per mensem.[3] The interesting point to note is that education was carried to the Zenana but male agency was employed to do so. It also throws some light on the Pardah system as it prevailed in

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1. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal 1873-74, p.70.
2. Indian Female Evangelist Vol. III, p.262.
O. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal 1876-77, p.78.
(O). Ibid 1878-79, p.82.
3. Report on Public Instruction, Punjab 1863-4, p.60.

different parts of the country. Apparently the priests were not included among men whom the ladies were forbidden to see.

It was in Madras, however, that a mixed Association of Europeans and Indians for the purpose of disseminating knowledge in the Zenanas as advocated by K.M.Bannerjee was formed. Women in Madras enjoyed greater freedom and Pardah existed only in the highest class. Some of the Indian gentlemen of this class were already in the habit of employing European and Eurasian women, unconnected with the missions, to give instruction in their Zananas.[X] They organised themselves with the help of the Europeans and founded the National Indian Association to give education to the women in the Zenanas on a purely secular basis. Colonel MacDonald was the first President and Mrs.Brander the wife of a missionary, was its first secretary. The Government promised to defray half of its expenses in addition to paying half the salary grants to those certificated teachers who gave four hours of secular instruction each day in the Zenanas.[1] This had a damping effect on the activities of the Zenana Missionary Societies as most of their time was taken up in religious instruction. They not only lost many pupils but teachers as well. They could not pay the instructors as much as the National Indian Association helped by the Government grants could without giving up religious instruction.[2]

X. Madras Provincial Education Committee Report 1884, p.130.
1. Madras Provincial Education Committee Report 1884, p.12. Evidence of Mrs. Brander.
2. Tracts 637 (India Office) Zenana work, p.42.

Thus the most striking feature of this body was that it was a joint Association of Europeans and Indians, officials and non-officials. Its secretary, Mrs.Brander, was the wife of a missionary as well as the Government Inspectress of Schools. That she should have consented to accept such a position in a body giving only secular education and evidently setting itself up in opposition to Zenana Missionary activity was rather surprising. Perhaps those who engaged in female education in the south were more broad-minded.

Thus in Madras there was an intermediary form of Zenana education as well. The wife of a Brahmin teacher who was literate but observed Pardah and could not be seen out sought to use her knowledge by opening a Zenana school in her own house. She taught fifteen girls and Mr.Yule promised to reward her labours.[1] Here at least there was no conscious effort to evangelise the higher castes and Mr.Yule, though employed by a missionary society was trying genuinely to promote female education. Besides, it is important to note that in this case it was the women who came to the Zenana of the teacher and not vice-versa.

In Bombay under the auspices of Prarthana Samaj an interesting development took place which can perhaps be included in the Zenana system and described here. This Association also

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1. Established Church of Scotland Ladies' Association Report 1854, p.15.

had a 'ladies' meeting or gathering'. It was held every week in the Mandir (temple) premises and essays were read and discussed by the women among themselves. Lectures were also delivered to them by Indian gentlemen on 'useful and interesting subjects'. The fact that they heard lectures from gentlemen throws an interesting sidelight on the greater freedom enjoyed by the women of Western India as compared with those of Bengal. No doubt Prarthna Samaj was a society of Reform but this difference becomes clearer when this quiet statement is compared with the storms caused in the Brahma Samaj on women coming to sit with the men at the meeting. Even so radical a Brahma-Samajist as Ram Tanu Lahiri, who took his daughters to the meetings despite opposition, did not let them intermingle freely.[1]

Hence it is not surprising that a purely women's society the Arya Mahila Samaj or the Indian Ladies' Association should have originated in Poona.[2] On 31st May 1882 Pandita Ramabai

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1. Sivanath Sastri: Life Ram Tanu Lahiri p.140-41.
2. A fuller list of its objects is given for the sake of clarity.
   1. That the Society be called The Arya Mahila Samaj.
   2. Its principal objects shall be:-
      (a) To diffuse education among females
      (b) To take steps towards the removal of many injurious customs such as early marriages that are impediments towards our progress.
      (c) To improve the Social Moral, and religious condition of native women
   3. That the Society be composed principally of native ladies residing in any part of India.
   4. That European or other foreign ladies who may lend a helping hand to this Society be nominated corresponding members.
   5. That females only be admitted as members of this Society.
   6. That all members of the Society shall possess equal rights and privileges, no distinction being made of caste, family, rank, wealth and social position.

Footnote continued.

7. That all propositions brought before the meetings be decided by a majority of votes.
8. That a minimum annual subscription of 6 Rupees be paid by every member, payment of a higher sum from those who can afford to do so being thankfully accepted.
9. That such ladies as may be too poor to pay even 6 rupees per annum be admitted as members on payment of a minimum subscription of 3 rupees per annum
10. That the funds of the Society, after the defrayal of the necessary expenses, be deposited in the Government Savings Bank in the name of the Association
11. That intending members be required to make the following declaration: "I will assist to the utmost of my power in carrying out the object of the association without prejudice or partiality."
12. That members failing to act up to the declaration or violating the above rules be removed from the association."

addressed a meeting in the female College in Shukravar Peth in which she dwelt upon the necessity of disseminating knowledge and liberty among the women of India without precipitating a social revolution. They formed a society to reach the women who had not yet been reached but it was not thought desirable to publish either the names of the ladies who joined it or its method of work. It is indeed easy to exaggerate the importance of this society and it would be hardly justifiable to use it as an index of the advance in popular opinion on the subject of female education. But 'the mere conception and institution of such a Society ... actuated by the motives adopted at a public meeting, in which there was not a single European officer present' was a remarkable fact and 'not the work of a passing impulse' only. There could be no doubt that 'it must have been prompted by earnest conviction.' There was another form of Zenana educational activity, the extent of which is more difficult to estimate. Sometimes the wives of Government officials, especially those who had a good knowledge of the vernaculars, sought to enter the Zenanas and undertake direct instruction.[1] Others taught women and girls in their domestic establishments or those living in or near

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1. Mrs.Colin Mackenzie: Life in the Zenanas Vol. II, p.36.

their compounds.[oo] Occasionally they were requested to superintend the work of Indian agents.[1]

In certain cases European women of independent means also arrived in India to undertake only Zenana work. Thus in 1865 the three Gabbett Sisters from Dublin went as voluntary workers to Benares, unconnected with any society. But soon they returned to Ireland when one of them fell ill.[2] Naturally not much is known about the activities of such women and whatever little information is available lies scattered in individual journals and Memoirs.

Thus Zenana teaching went on developing for nearly a quarter of a century. It took various forms as seen above. It was maintained and by the initiative of individuals, - both Indians and Europeans, and various societies, religious and secular. On the whole it received liberal aid from the Government. But all these attempts were sporadic. There was no common co-ordinating authority and the Government had no means of ascertaining whether its money was being well-spent, the Zenanas not being open to inspection for almost the whole of the inspecting staff was male. This led the Government to think of instituting a female inspecting staff.[3]

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oo. See Appendix XIII Lady Ford and Franscina Senasjit.
oo. Priscilla Chapman: Hindu Female Education p.115.
1. Extract from the Brahma Samaj Paper Indian Mirror quoted in Indian Female Evangelist Vol. II, p.176. Bombay Provincial Education Committee Report 1882, Vol.II,p.385. Mrs.Mitchell's Answer No. 46.
2. Eugene Stock: In Zenana March 1901, p.74.
3. See Chapter V p. 228-9 for the beginnings of female inspecting agency.

It is only with the appointment of Mrs. Manmohini Wheeler, daughter of K.M.Bannerjee, as the "Inspectoress of Girls' Schools and Zenana Agencies in Calcutta, the 24 Pergunnahs and Hoogly" that important light is thrown on the subject of Zenana teaching. She entered upon her office with great zeal, toured her province extensively, and prepared detailed reports of what she saw. Her reports revealed great defects in this system of education. According to her the Zenana education society in Dacca Division and the Calcutta Zenana Agencies had presented their results in too favourable a light.[1] Mrs. Wheeler found that 82% of the Zenana pupils were in the lowest stage of instruction. According to the returns submitted by the Superintendents of Zenana Agencies only 30% of the pupils under instruction were in the lowest stage.[2]

It seems that there was a tendency to try and get results too quickly. It was a novel field of work in which the Home Societies were very interested and desirous of seeing some concrete results. The conversions were few and far between.[3] Even when they did occur, the work in the Zenanas suffered owing

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1. Report of the Report on Public Instruction, Bengal 1877-78, p.77
2. " " " " " " " , Bengal 1878-89, p.84.

The actual figures were:

	Total Pupils examined	Lower Primary	Higher Primary	Middle Stage	Upper Stage
Mrs. Wheeler	1059	872	155	26	6
Returns of Superintendents of Zenana Agencies	1639	496	711	246	6

3. India Office Tracts 637 Zenana Work, p.11.

to the withdrawal of pupils.[1] The conversion of a Bengali widow emptied the Zenanas of a particular society not only in Bengal but in the North West Provinces as well.[2] Hence the missionaries could safely show positive achievements to their credit only in two ways. They could estimate more highly the standards reached by their pupils for neither were there any uniform examinations nor an inspecting agency to check up on them. The other was to show a statistical increase in the number of pupils under instruction.

The anxiety to increase the numbers led to much undignified competition. Instead of having a common supervisory authority with a unity of aim and purpose which allotted to each Society a specific field of work, they individually made a bid to secure pupils. The result was that schools within the same area multiplied and maintenance of discipline became very difficult. Much time and effort was wasted. Thus the Zenanas of the Baptist Mission, on the average, did not contain even two pupils per house.[3] With the limited number of suitable teachers available

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1. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal 1870-71, App. A. p.39.
2. Indian Female Evangelist Vol. III, p.198.
3. Tracts India Office 637. Mrs.C.B.Lewis: Origins of Zenana work p.108.

Towns	Houses	Pupils
Calcutta & Baraset	78	118
Delhi	104	136
Benares	31	61
Monghyr	17	
Allahabad	16	22
Serampore	7	14
Barisal	23	60
Dacca	25	30

the same lesson could have been delivered with greater advantage to at least six women. The labour to teach one would have sufficed for six. This would have been possible if the field had been properly mapped out.

Moreover, in the rush to get pupils, they did not trouble to secure only the suitable ones. Instead of confining their attention only to those who had been to school, had learnt the elements of knowledge and could not continue their education in a public institution, they even undertook to begin the education of the children in the Zenanas.[1] Sometimes quite elderly women who could not profit by the instruction given to them were also taught. This disparity in the ages of the pupils rendered their organisation into classes more difficult[2] with the result that discipline suffered considerably. There was little conscious effort to keep track of the students when they left school. Thus not more than 10% of the Zenana pupils had been to Bethune or other schools before.[3] In quite a number of cases, even among these, the interval between their leaving school and their being reached by a Zenana society had been long enough to render their school education practically useless and they had to begin afresh.[4]

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1. Free Church of Scotland Ladies' Society's Report 1867, p.10-11. S.Satthianadhan: History of Education in Madras Presidency, pp.226-28. Report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal 1878-79, p.83.
2. Free Church of Scotland Ladies' Society's Report 1875, p.17.
3. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal 1877-78, p.78.
4. Scottish Free Church Ladies' Society's Report, 1867. p.10-11.

This fruitless competitive spirit also led to a constant interchange of pupils in the Zenanas.[1] If one society gave up a particular household owing to irregularity of attendance or similar causes, then another was willing to take it on. The pupils could pick and choose and impose their own terms on the teachers. Zenana education almost came to be regarded as a favour that they bestowed upon the societies. This state of affairs was hardly conducive to the maintenance of discipline and the pupils themselves could hardly expect to make much progress.

Much the same thing applied to the employment of teachers. A society would often employ, though sometimes in ignorance of the fact, teachers dismissed by others for incompetence.[2]

Financially, the absence of any sustained effort to insist on the payment of fees was a natural consequence of this competitive spirit.[3] Fees averaged less than 6 annas per head in Bengal.[4] The pupils were reluctant to pay[5] and no effort was made to compel them. On the whole it would have been better to insist upon at least some token payment as in that case probably the services of the teacher would have been better appreciated. The pupils

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1. Public Instruction Report, Bengal 1879-80, p.84.
   " " " " 1880-1, p.87.
   India Office Tracts 637, p.72. Zenana work
2. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report 1884, p.291.
3. Report on Public Instruction Bengal (see evidence of Miss Hooker). Ibid 1880-81, p.87, 1879-80, p.85.
4. Report on Public Instruction Bengal 1877-78 App. p.12. Bengal Provincial Committee Report 1884, p.109.
5. Free Church of Scotland Female Education Society Report, 1867 "Bengal" p.10-11.

themselves would have put in more work in the interval between the two visits of the teacher and this token payment would not have involved much hardship as these girls did not belong to the poorest classes.

Another, and perhaps the main hindrance to the work of the Zenana Missions was the religious difficulty. The missions regarded Zenana teaching primarily as an evangelising agency. No wonder then that the Indians were unwilling to introduce a hostile religious influence into their homes.[1] The missionaries did little to dissociate Zenana education and their proselytising activities in the minds of the Indians. Once at Bombay a female teacher on arrival from Europe did not stay with the missionaries lest the Indians connected Zenana instruction with general missionary activity.[2] But this was very uncommon.

On the contrary, pupils and Indian teachers alike were often chosen for their acceptance of the Bible rather than for their ability. It was found that the teachers themselves could not pass an examination a standard higher than they were supposed to be

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1. Calcutta Christian Observer March 1840, p.126.
Friend of India 1872: quoted in women's work in Foreign Parts p.92
Report of the Established Church of Scotland Ladies' Association 1852, p.14.
Report of the Free Church of Scotland Female Education Society 1867. "Bengal". Indian Female Evangelist Vol. III, p.121.
S.Satthianadhan: History of Education in the Madras Presidency p.192. E.Carpenter: Life of Mary Carpenter, p.255.
2. Records of the Church of Scotland Ladies' Association: Letter from Mrs. Pigott dated Bombay, August 4, 1842, in the S.P.F.E. papers in the Library of the Church Missionary Society.

teaching.[1] The Indian Christian teachers did not attain a suitable standard but were employed as the demand was greater than the supply.[2] Sometimes they took this 'work as a means of livelihood perhaps the only one open to them.'[3] In the limited time at their disposal, they had to impart religious instruction as well. Much time was wasted in arguing about the merits of one religion as against the other which slowed down the pace of secular instruction.[4]

The expansion of the work and the increase in the number of Zenana instructors brought its own problems. General improvements in communications between India and England, particularly the opening of the Suez Canal in 1868, encouraged more European women to proceed to India. Some of them were quite unsuitable for Zenana work and had gone there in the hope of getting married. The activities of these women led the less sympathetic to generalise from the example of a few and the Zenana organisations incurred appreciable opposition by being dubbed as Bachelors' Aid Societies.[5]

Another consequence was far more serious. The earlier Zenana teachers, though fewer in number, had acquired a fair knowledge of the Indian languages through prolonged stay in the

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1. Free Church of Scotland Ladies' Society Report, 1875
2. Report of Public Instruction, Bengal 1876-77, p.76.
3. India Office Tracts 637, p.18. Mrs. Etherington on Zenana work
4. Free Church of Scotland Ladies' Society Report 1875, p.16.
5. India Office Tracts 637 Mrs.Etherington, p.37.

country. The new arrivals had not the same desire to learn nor were there many facilities available. The ignorance of Indian languages prevented many of them from offering themselves for Zenana work; the efficiency and effectiveness of others was considerably reduced. Faulty accent and incorrect grammar of the teacher excited the mirth of the pupils and lowered her value in their eyes.[1] Had the proposal to open varnacular classes in connection with the various churches been adopted, more women would have been forthcoming as teachers and those already teaching would have improved their standards.[2]

However not all the blame can be laid at the door of the Zenana Societies. They were working under great difficulties. The social customs of the country put a barrier to any spectacular progress. Child-marriage, frequent pregnancy, visits to and from the father-in-law's house, caused considerable irregularity in attendance. Not only were the Zenana pupils irregular in attendance but they did not stay long enough under instruction.[3] When an elementary knowledge of keeping accounts

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1. K.S.Macdonald: Story of Bengal Missions, p.83.
2. India Office Tracts 637, Zenana work, p.11.
3. Report on Public Instruction Bengal 1879-80, p.84.
   Thus according to Report on Public Instruction Bengal 1879-80, p.84. of the 266 S.r.G. pupils hardly 7% had been more than a year under instruction.
   " " 899 am. Missionary Agency pupils only 35% had been more than 2 years under instruction.
   " " 614 Zenana Church Missionary less than 10% had been more than 2 years under instruction.
   " " 350 Free Church Society Missionary less than 15% had been more than 2 years under instruction.
   True it was also partly due to the Societies being more interested in extension than in consolidation.

had been acquired, further visits of the teacher were discouraged by the male members of the family.[1] Since education promised no direct economic returns it was not taken very seriously, especially by married pupils, who merely regarded it as a pleasant pastime. They often did little work in the interval between the visits of the teacher either because of the pressure of housework or out of sheer laziness.[2]

There was also the difficulty of finding suitable women teachers. These were not forthcoming except for a very small quota from the Brahma-Samajists. Besides unmarried Indian women were suspect and sometimes met with obstruction when proceeding to the pupils' homes. An amusing suggestion quite seriously put forward was to clothe them in European dress which it was thought would save them from unpleasant experiences.[3] It often required patience and endurance on the part of European women to go through stinking lanes and houses to the inner quarters of well-to-do Indians. They arrived there only to find that they were regarded as untouchables[4] and that therefore books were thrown at them instead of being passed to them. No doubt a little tact soon overcame these difficulties but where such relations existed educational progress was necessarily slow. These circumstances put off a number of European women from undertaking the

1. Report on Public Instruction Bengal 1877-78, p.78.
2. Panjab Provincial Education Committee Report 1884, p.61.
3. India Office Tracts 637 Zenana work p.38-39.
4. Public Instruction Report Bengal 1879-80, p.85.

Superintendence[1] of this work.

The Government inspecting agency was wholly inadequate for the task. Not only had the Inspectoress an inadequate staff but female education throughout the province was not directly placed under her charge. The male inspecting staff had not yet got used to the idea of a female counterpart, and resented it as an unwarranted interference with the performance of their duties, especially as the results submitted by them sometimes differed materially from the information received from the inspectoress.[2] Quicker transfers of persons in Government service further aggravated the situation.[XO]

Financially the Zenana system of instruction had the disadvantage of being expensive.[3] It cost the societies a great deal to bring teachers out from Europe and U.S.A. Much time and effort was needed in travelling to and fro from the pupils' homes.[4] The maintenance of a conveyance figures as a major item in the budget of a Zenana instruction society. This could hardly be termed as expenditure on education though it was nonetheless necessary.

It is doubtful if an appreciable portion of this relatively heavy expenditure could have been recovered even if a sustained

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1. Report of Public Instruction Bengal 1876-77, p.76.
2. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report, 1884, p.386.
XO. Indian Female Evangelist Volume III, p.104.
3. J.Dennis: Christian Missions and Social Progress Vol.II, p.257.
4. India Office Tracts 637. C.S.Lewis: Origins of Zenana work, p.8.
Panjab Provincial Education Committee Report 1884, p.61.

effort had been made to levy fees and even if the competitive spirit had been less prominent. The low economic condition of the Indian Middle Classes would have hardly enabled them to make more than token payments for an education which promised no financial gains.[1] The uncertain attitude of the Government did not lighten the burden and made matters worse.[2] Although the Bengal Government gave the Zenana system liberal financial support, the same was not true of other parts of India. In madras the Government gave grants for Zenana instruction but laid down conditions which were too strict.[0] It was not officially "recognised as a proper charge on Public funds" which it ought to have been.[3] In Bombay no grants-in-aid were given for this work and private agencies had to bear the whole cost of Zenana instruction.[4]

In view of these shortcomings the quality of the work certainly suffered but the evils had been exaggerated. The fullest and most trustworthy account of Zenana teaching comes from Mrs.Wheeler on whose evidence a great part of the foregoing is based. She was a highly educated lady coming from an exceptional home. Her father, the Rev. K.M.Bannerjee, had personally supervised her education and she might have been prone

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1. E.Carpenter: Life of Mary Carpenter p.255
2. Friend of India 1872. Quoted in Women's work in Foreign Parts, p.92.
0. Madras Provincial Education Committee Report 1884, p.130.
3. S.Satthianadhan: The History of Education in Madras Presidency. p.192.
4. Bombay Provincial Education Committee Report 1884, p.156.

to judge other homes by her own standards. Besides most people when they enter upon a new office in order to impress its importance unconsciously tend to bring it into the limelight and Mrs.Wheeler may have been no exception. Anyhow it is only fair to record the opinions of others to supplement the picture drawn by her.

Thus Mr.Hopkins and Mr.Rowe, Inspectors of schools, thought that much good was done by Zenana teaching.[1] The Director of Public Instruction's Report for 1879-80 records the fact that of the sixteen pupils under the American Mission reaching the higher stage not more than half had been under instruction for more than two years which shows that "considerable progress is made by women in their own homes without any aid from the Zenana visitors."[2] Other authorities also testify to much solid work that was done in the Zenanas.[3] Even Mrs.Wheeler did not uniformly condemn all Zenana work. She spoke highly of the Zenana Association of Barrackpore which employed women teachers trained at the Free Church Female Normal School. These were well acquainted with the vernaculars and hence there was a bond of sympathy between them and their pupils. Healthiest relations existed between them including the care of pupils in

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1. Report on Public Instruction Bengal 1873-74, p.68
   " " " " " 1876-77,p.78.
2. Report on Public Instruction Bengal 1879-80,p.84.
3. S.C.Dutt: India Past & Present, p.205,214.
   Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report 1884, pp.386-88.
   Indian Female Evangelist Vol.III,p.269.

times of sickness.[1]

These defects were recognised in part and from time to time proposals were made to rectify them. The appointment of Mrs.Wheeler as the inspectress of female schools has already been noticed. The female inspecting agency was expanded and similar appointments were made in Madras and Bombay.[2].

To improve the standard of teachers, the Government set up normal schools in each of the three Presidencies and even extended the scheme to the Central Provinces.[3] The proposal to institute a public examination for mistresses was only adopted by the Madras Presidency.[4]

Clearly defined standards prescribing a definite course of instruction were set up with the dual object of testing the work of the Zenana teachers and obviating discrepancies in the progress reports submitted by the Zenana agencies and the inspectress of schools.[5] At first it was proposed to give no grants-in-aid for elementary instruction which did not properly come under Zenana instruction, while making increased payments for pupils reaching the Middle or High school standard. This was to ensure economy on the part of the Agencies, which would thus have to shoulder the whole cost of elementary instruction,

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1. Report on Public Instruction Bengal 1878-79, p.85.
2. See Chapter VIII p.628-39
3. See Chapter VIII.
4. Madras Provincial Education Committee Report: Evidence p.145. Also Chapter VIII, p.569
5. Report on Public Instruction Bengal 1879-80, p.85.

which could probably be equally well given in a central school.[1] In the end, though aid was not completely denied for elementary instruction, a system of "payment by results" was introduced.[2]

In Madras, however, the new rules for grants-in-aid tackled these defects as a whole. A glance at these rules shows their comprehensive nature.[3] They required the fullest information about the personnel of a society or association, its finances and its educational activities (Cl.1 & 2). No grant was available for purely elementary instruction (under Standard 4) (Cl.3) and payment of prescribed fees was to be insisted upon (Cl. 5). They sought to secure some uniformity, order and discipline by fixing the maximum and minimum number of pupils in a Zenana (Cl. 6) and clearly defining their age-ranges (Co. 7). It was seen that each teacher at least did a minimum amount of teaching per week at the same time securing at least a prescribed minimum of four hours per week for each household.[4]

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1. Report on Public Instruction Bengal 1877-78, p.79.
2. Report on Public Instruction Bengal 1879-80, p.85.
3. Madras Provincial Education Committee Report: quoted on p.12.
4. Madras Provincial Education Committee Report 1884, p.12.
   The Rt. Hon. the Governor in Council is pleased to sanction the following addition to Rule 46 of the Grant-in-aid code:-
   (b) Grants-in-aid of the salaries of qualified female teachers of Hindu and Muhammedan girls pursing their studies in private houses may be sanctioned by the Director of Public Instruction according to the scale laid down in Rule 43, provided (1) that the teacher is employed by the Manager of a Girls' School, or by a regularly constituted committee, society or association; (2) that the current accounts, the list of establishment, each household class, together with the time-table, the scheme of studies, and register of attendance, so far as secular instruction is concerned, are subject to government inspection, (3)x that the instruction

These measures had the desired effect of minimising some of the worst evils. Though the missionary societies complained that their work suffered in having to prepare the detailed returns required by the Education Department.[1] Yet on the whole this proceeding was justified. It made them more careful in supplying information and the setting up of uniform standards made comparison between the work of different agencies possible. They could not henceforth be as generous, as they undoubtedly had been, in estimating the standards attained by their pupils. They had to make greater efforts and this resulted in some improvement in the quality of instruction imparted.

Similarly these grant-in-aid rules by-passed the religious difficulty by recognising only secular instruction for purposes of financial assistance. No doubt the missionary agencies were hit rather hard but it was necessary to secure that time was not wasted in fruitless arguments on the merits and demerits of different religions. This was likely to happen as the missionaries especially regarded Zenana teaching as an

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Footnote 2. contd.
given does not fall below that prescribed for standard 4; (4) that each pupil receives instruction according to the standard in which she may be studying in one or more languages, in Arithmetic and in History and Geography; (5) that such monthly fees as may be from time to time prescribed are levied; (6) that the total number of pupils under instruction shall not be more than fifteen and not less than three in any household; (7) that the pupils under instruction be not less than twelve or more than twenty-five years of age; (8) that the teacher devote to each household class not less than four hours, and in the aggregate to all the classes not less than twenty hours weekly.

(Sd.) C.G.Master
Chief Secretary.

1. Madras Provincial Education Committee Report p.11 Mrs.Brander p.15 Mrs.Bauboo

evangelising agency rather than an educational one.[1] They made no pretence about it and expressed their opinion in such emphatic terms as, "we use.... our entrance into Zenanas.....for the good of these people; but with one end and aim in view - to preach and teach Christ Jesus, to carry to every woman in India His Gospel message, and we instruct our labourers to this effect.... And it is a further rule of the Society (Indian Female Normal School of Instruction Society) that instruction is not to be carried on in any house except where this is distinctly understood, and the Bible and Christian religious teaching accepted as the basis of all our education."[2] Although the chief driving force behind Zenana teaching was the hope of evangelising the high caste women of India the secular instruction given should not be despised; and the wonder is not that so little was done but that so much was achieved.

In conclusion we might say that much more could have been accomplished by carefully surveying the field and taking a full measure of the resources that were available for the work. Instead the way it developed gave an unfortunate idea of education. By respecting the prejudices of the country, it might have served only to harden them. It tended to foster the idea among respectable people that the authorities would provide education free for their daughters through semi-private governesses.[3] How

1. K.S.Macdonald: The Story of Bengal Missions p.86.
2. Indian Female Evangelist Vol. I, p.348.
3. A.Satthianadhan: History of Education in the Madras Presidency p.226-8. Quoting the opinion of Dr. Duncan, Director of Public Instruction, Madras.

far it retarded the general spread of female education by relaxing the pressure on higher class parents to send their daughters to school[1] can never be measured.

A more serious criticism of this method would be on purely educational grounds. The size of an average Zenana was too small[2] to allow for any group activity which provided the classes do not get too big, is an important part of school education. This loss was not even compensated by the advantages of a system which gave almost individual attention to the students for the character of instruction that was being imparted, if not actually at cross purposes, was too far removed from the home environment of the pupils to be effective. Even in the Day School, if only for a limited number of hours, the pupils left their homes. But under the Zenana system the teacher went into the old atmosphere to teach new ideas, thereby setting a premium on their successful germination.

This brings us to the content of education imparted in the Zenans. There is no doubt that special text-books should have been prepared for this system of teaching and particularly adapted to the needs of such pupils. Moreover, as the vast majority of them were not intended to qualify as teachers, their education could have had a more cultural bias. It would have been much more pupular if, for instance, music had been included

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1. International Review of Missions: Edinburgh April, 1917, p.217.
2. See Footnote p. 444 of this chapter.

STANDARDS OF EXAMINATION FOR VERNACULAR GIRLS' SCHOOLS AND ZENANAS.

(Public Instruction Report Bengal 1879-80. p.85)

	STANDARD I A	STANDARD I B	STANDARD II	STANDARD III	STANDARD IV	STANDARD V	STANDARD VI.
READING.	To recognise and name the alphabets, vowels and consonants.	To have a correct knowledge of the sound & formation of the different vowel signs; spelling of small words from Part I Barnaparichay, or other primer.	To read with intelligence from any primer, to spell without mistake up to in Part II, Barnaparichay, other book of the same standard.	Competent knowledge of spelling in Part II Barnaparichay, intelligent reading of Book II (Shishu-shikha), or any other of the same class; reciting 10 lines of poetry from poetical Reader No.1.	Bodhoday; general knowledge of meaning; to recite 20 lines of poetry from Poetical Reader No.1.	Minute explanations from Bodhoday; reading from Bastubicher poetry from Poetical Reader No.11.	Questions from Bastubicher; Charupath Parts 1 & 11; Poetical Reader No.III, rendering Poetry into Prose.
WRITING.	To write the letters neatly and firmly.	Writing easy words from disctation.	Dictation from Primer.	Dictation from Book III.	Dictation from Bodhoday, a sentence slowly read out twice.	Dictation from Bodohay; rewriting the meaning in simpler Bengali.	Dictation, Paraphrasing, & Composition.
ARITHMETIC.	To count up to 50, and be able to state of what 2 digits each number is composed; easy mental arithmetic.	Numeration to 99 in addition.	Notation and numeration in 4 figures; addition.	Notation & numeration in 5 figures; addition, subtraction, tables up to 3 x 12.	Not.& num. in 6 figures, addition, subtraction & tables up to 10 x 12.	Not.& num. in 6 figures, the four simple rules; tables up to 12x12.	Four simple rules, four compound rules and reduction.
GRAMMAR.	-	-	-	-	-	Sandhi.	Sandhi & Samas, with examples from the lesson books.
GEOGRAPHY.	-	-	-	-	-	Definitions; map of Asia.	Map of the world and India in Detail.
	STAGE PRIMARY. (a) Lower. (b) Higher; (c) Upper.				Middle.		Upper Middle.

as one of the subjects. But this was probably impossible as the European teachers and their Christian assistants were themselves unacquainted with it.

The same criticism applies to examinations. Perhaps in the circumstances examinations were the easiest means of testing the proficiency of the pupils. They may even have been essential in England where middle-class girls were going to take up situations as governesses and it was all to the good to give them certificates showing that they had attained a certain standard. The same may have been true when testing the work of girls' schools in India. But more free play could be permitted with the lesser possibility of harm in this sphere. Examinations had a more withering effect on Zenana instruction as its aim was not so much to impart information as to quicken women's sympathy and open up new subjects of conversation and thought before them.[1] This was much to be regretted especially as there were not the scholarships and prizes to be attained in the end nor was there an ambition to pass on the knowledge thus acquired.

Above all special emphasis on the evangelising nature of Zenana instruction made it suspect in the eyes of Indians and prevented it from becoming more popular. From the missionary point of view, too, its success in converting high caste women

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1. J.Dennis: Christian Missions and Social Progress, Vol.II, p.257.

to Christianity was negligible.

In spite of these severe criticisms, it is true that Zenana teaching began a process 'which witnessed a silent social revolution'.[1] It might have retarded the progress of general education but the risk had to be taken especially when it is recognised that prejudice in favour of domestic education of women was not confined to the upper and middle classes of India alone.[2] In Britain too the daughters of the upper middle class, of professional men, and the clergy, were educated mainly by governesses.[3] According to reliable authorities, even farmers and tradesmen, because of the inadequacy of schools, sometimes employed governesses.[4] Even with the industrial development of England, which created cities, and where railroads broke down the former rural isolation, the governess was not, as might be expected, displaced. Manufacturers imitated the aristocracy and clergy in having their daughters taught at home. The absence of good schools for girls was not the only reason for adherence to the old system. It had become the respectable thing for middle-class households to have a governess.[5] And this

1. G.Smith: Life of A.Duff, p.300.
2. Parliamentary Papers 1860,Vol.LII,p.33. Sir F.J.Halliday Governor of Bengal on Lord Ellenborough and Sir G.Clarke.
3. Mark Pattison, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford Evidence before the Schools Enquiry Commission in 1865. Parliamentary Papers 1867-68 Part IV, Vol.13, p.944
4. Ibid, Part III, Vol. XXVIII, p.693, 1867-68 Part IV, Vol.13, p.246.
5. W.F.Neff: Victorian Working Women, p.152-53.

in a country where there was no Purdah system and where women were relatively free. How much more necessary was the system of domestic instruction in a predominantly agricultural and much more conservative country like India. Besides most of the criticisms lose much of their sting when it is realised that Zenana instruction from the beginning was recognised to be only a temporary make-shift until public opinion changed in favour of female education in general.[1] And temporary indeed it proved to be. By 1882 its pioneering days were over and the work was more and more taken over by the Indians.[2] Even purely women's societies were formed and between them they rectified most of these defects. British and American women, instead of concentrating on Zenana instruction only, endeavoured to open up new fields of maternity and child-welfare. They hoped that many educated men and women, who, doubtful of the effectiveness of the missions, had discontinued their support, would be glad to resume their contributions for medical work among the women of India.[3] The story of the Dufferin and Kinnaird hospitals and allied activities in which their energies were increasingly directed falls outside the scope of this work.

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1. J.Dennis: Christian Missions and Social Progress Vol. II,p.257.
2. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report P.108. S.C.Dutt: India Past & Present p.205-214.
3. Contemporary Review Vol. LVI. p.215.

SECTION B.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

ADULT SCHOOLS

As already shown, the Zenana system of instruction was evolved to meet the educational needs of Indian women who were handicapped by the custom of Pardah and Segregation. But rare as these were, Schools for adult women were not entirely unknown. As early as 1827 Carey in his "Brief Memoir of the Brotherhood" noted that "one of these near Serampore may be regarded as an unprecedented thing; an adult female school in which the women have shown themselves quite desirous to receive instruction".[X]

The missionaries, however, do not seem to have taken a particular interest in such schools. Occasionally they established a class for the wives of the students in their theological Seminaries wherein young women were imparted instruction in the three Rs and an elementary knowledge of geography, history and Scripture, with a view to helping their husbands.[XX] A school of this kind was expensive and was no cheaper than one completely separate.[XXX] Such institutions were indeed rare.

The most remarkable instance of an Adult Female School is

X. Women's Baptist Missionary Association Jubilee Phamphlet, p.8.

XX. Second Report of the Theological Class for Native Ministers of the Baptist Mission in Bengal 1866-67, p.17. India Office Tracts 637

XXX. Ibid
Annual cost of educating 13 married pupils was 986 rupees
" " " " 10 unmarried " " 495 " 8 annas

provided by one in Dacca.[X] One of the pupils was a widow and twenty others were married with husbands; nine of them had children.[XX] Their ages varied between 8 and 40 years. Most of the pupils were Brahmos and hence were not bound by Hindu Social Customs. An Infant School was attached to this institution,[XXX] presumably for the benefit of the Mothers! English was taught by an Indian Christian women and Bengali by a Pundit. The husbands objected to the Pundit but he could not be dispensed with as no suitable women could be found to teach Bengali.[XXXX] The pupils were, however, sufficiently advanced socially to come out of Pardah and the prizes were distributed by high European officials in the presence of Indian gentry. Later music was introduced as an additional subject,[XO] and for a time the attendance at the school improved.[XOO] It was even hoped to send out some of the women as teachers, but these expectations were not fulfilled.[XOOO.]

The School cost the Government 600 rupees per annum and as new pupils were not readily forthcoming, the Dacca Philanthropic Association proposed its abolition and that of its

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X. Report on Public Instruction Bengal 1862-63 App. A.P.55.
XX. Ibid E.
XXX. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal 1873-74, p.70.
XXXX. Ibid
XO. Ibid 1874-75, p.96
XOO. Ibid 1875-76, p.87.
XOOO. Ibid 1876-77, p.78.

two Infant Schools. They suggested a Government Female School instead, staffed entirely by women headed by a European mistress. It was hoped that the new School would be more popular.[X] The proposal was accepted by the Government and the three Schools were closed, together with the Female Normal School at Rampur Bauleah. In 1878 the Eden Female School was established in their place under the management of a Committee with the Commissioner of Dacca as Chairman. The Government made a grant of 4320 rupees per annum and the School began with 153 pupils.[XX] Later it developed into the Eden Girls' High School preparing pupils up to the Matriculation Standard.[XXX]

Thus ended the interesting attempt to teach women in an adult School. The chief cause of its failure appears to have been the Pardah System which prevented Indian women in general from attending such an institution, and Brahmose were not sufficiently numerous to justify the high cost of its maintenance.

X. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal 1876-77, p.78.
XX. Ibid 1878-79, P.
XXX. R.A.Croft: Review of Education in India in 1886, p.281. para. 231.

JAIL SCHOOLS

Though no direct connection has been traced, the Jail Schools were probably inspired by the philanthropic work of Elizabeth Fry[X] for female prisoners in England. Dr. Walker, the Superintendent of Mainpuri Jail, who inaugurated this kind of work in India, had probably heard of the success that had attended similar work in England. He took the view that if the prisoners were taught to read and write, they were likely on release to show off this accomplishment rather than boast of their deeds of lawlessness. He adopted the Infant School System of England as the basis of his scheme. He selected monitors and instructors, primarily for their intelligence, but also took into account "good-behaviour". These were put under Pundits and were readily forthcoming because they were excused from daily labour. They in turn taught others who were willing. Thus no extra establishment was required and the expenses did not exceed 5 rupees per mensem for every hundred prisoners under instruction. These classes were first begun in Mainpuri Jail in 1850[XX] and two years later twenty-one women passed the First Examination.[XXX] The Scheme seems not only to have benefitted the prisoners themselves, but also improved general discipline in the Jail.

X. Elizabeth Fry 1780-1845 Prison-reformer (see Dictionary of National Biography Vol. XX. p.294-5

XX. H.S.Reid, Indian Civil Service: Report on Education in the North Western Provinces 1853, p.53.

XXX. Ibid, p.117.

The news of the success of the experiment spread and the example was copied in other jails. At Agra a similar scheme was set afoot.[X] Miss Carpenter found the Female Department in Nagpur Jail well-taught by a woman trained at the Weslyan Boarding School. The women were particularly interested in learning needlework.[XX] Elsewhere Bible-women were employed to teach the prisoners.[XXX] Though their visits were appreciated, it would appear that the chief difficulty in extending educational work among female prisoners lay in the dearth of suitable teachers unconnected with the missions. Miss Carpenter's Report drew attention to the needs of female convicts, particularly for better accommodation and greater provision for their instruction.[XXXX]

NIGHT SCHOOLS

The proposal to establish Night Schools "for the further encouragement of female education" also seems to have been directly influenced by similar institutions in England. To start with a hundred schools were envisaged at a cost of £3.10.0. per School to impart elementary education to those who could not attend in daytime. If these proved successful their number was to be increased to 500. The scheme was under the

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X. Ibid, p.53.
XX. E.Carpenter: Life of Mary Carpenter, p.353.
XXX. Indian Female Evangelist Vol.II, p.296
XXXX. Parliamentary Papers 1877, Vol. LXIII.

consideration of the Government of India[X], but nothing seems to have come of it. In India where female schools were uncommon and it was still difficult to fill those that were already in existence, the plan to establish Night Schools seems curious. There were not enough single women workers to fill them for early marriage was common. Those who could not attend day-schools were hardly likely to patronise the night ones. It is interesting to note here to show how the ideas for educating the women in India closely followed the pattern laid down in England without much thought to differences in environment.

ART SCHOOLS

In the same way some of the schools for specialised and technical training had also a girls' branch attached to them. Thus the Madras School of Art contained a handful of girls. The Report even expressed some satisfaction with the progress of Girls' Branches; the "nature of drawing as an art" was beginning to be understood and the school was becoming more popular.[XX] Girls stayed on longer.[XXX] But the chief obstacle to progress was the absence of suitably trained female teachers. This was expected not to prove insurmountable as two girls were

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X. Moral & Material Progress of India Report 1866-67, p.55.
XX. Report on Public Instruction, Madras 1880-81, p.203-4
XXX. Ibid 1881-82, p.158.

under training as future art-mistresses.[X]

Thus schools have been described which, though unimportant in themselves, reveal the variety of educational effort in India. Some of them also show how the main impulse to education came from the ruling County and institutions on the model of those in England were established; though it should have been clear from the start that there was no chance of their becoming popular for conditions in the two Countries were very different.

X. Report on Public Instruction, Madras 1880-81, P.203-4.

CHAPTER VII.

SECONDARY, COLLEGIATE AND PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION OF WOMEN 1854-82.

SECTION A.

SECONDARY EDUCATION.

"Secondary education . . . may be generally . . . described as that which leads up from the Primary to the Collegiate Course." Its higher limit is precisely defined by the matriculation standard of the Universities, since that standard has hitherto been regarded not only as the introduction to a Course of Collegiate Study, but also as the final Standard of Secondary Schools. But the starting point of Secondary Education necessarily varies with the varying limits of Primary instruction, as that is understood in different provinces. . . . But with all these differences, there is a clear line of distinction between Secondary and Primary Education, in that the character of the former no longer has exclusive reference to the practical requirements of the Student in after life . . . and begins to be definitely

associated with what is understood as liberal education, and with the exercise of the higher faculties of thought.[1]

However unsatisfactory as a definition, it would suffice here to understand by Secondary Education a Standard of instruction above the level of the three R's, usually given between the ages of 11 and 16 years. In the case of girls age was indeed the critical factor. Parents, even if prejudiced against female education, did not object very strongly to the education of their daughters while they were still under the age of ten, but as pointed out earlier, in the absence of the economic incentive, the customs of Purdah (Seclusion) and early marriage put a premium on their continued instruction. Schools of this class were only to be found in the five main Provinces of India, Bengal, Bombay, Madras, North Western Provinces and Punjab.

Unfortunately it is not possible to give a precise account of the progress of Secondary Education among girls as in some Provinces such schools were not separately classified before 1881-82.[2] There is the further complication in that the earlier returns included schools for European and Eurasian girls which renders any comparisons

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1. Indian Education Commission Report 1884 p. 177.
2. Indian Education Commission Report 1884 p. 199.

futile.[1] In addition there was a "more accurate Classification of Middle and Primary Schools" in the Madras Presidency which resulted in a reduction of the number of the former from 83 to 18.[2]

"Still there is ground for believing", that because in the decade following 1871 the Government reversed its policy and concentrated more on encouraging Primary education than Secondary, "the loss is not altogether nominal". In the North Western Province the reduction was "real". When in 1876 the need for economy pressed the Government to reduce expenditure on education "Secondary and Primary Schools suffered alike in the reduction"[3] only in Bombay and Punjab was there an increase. Bombay was particularly advanced for its schools contained "more pupils than those of any other Province" and an "exceptionally large attendance, averaging over 60 pupils each".[4] It is interesting to note that the Government, which had taken more active interest in promoting education in Bombay than elsewhere [5]

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1. Indian Education Committee Report 1884 P. 199.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. See Chapter 5.

did not have a single Secondary School for girls whilst there were four such institutions in Madras and two in Bengal.[1] It would appear that the popularity of education in Western India was due to the greater freedom enjoyed by women there. All the same, the number of girls in Secondary Schools was everywhere very small: Madras, 389; Bombay, 555; Bengal, 211; North Western Provinces and Oudh, 68; Punjab, 8.[2] In the whole of India only .01-% girls of school-going age attended Secondary Schools in 1881-82[3]. The disparity between the figures for boys and girls was even more striking than in the case of Primary education.[4]

Year	Boys		Girls	
	Schools	Scholars	Schools	Scholars.
1870-1	2950	197,865	120	6429
1881-2	3835	212,006	81	2071

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid P. 530 Column 13.
4. Ibid Pp. 192-193 Columns 8 and 9. The figures for High and Middle Schools have been added.

Indian social conditions, particularly the seclusion of women and early marriages, were unfavourable to the continued instruction of girls. The anxiety of the missionaries not to render Christian girls discontented by educating them above the station to which they would be called in life did not improve matters. The missionaries did not display the same zeal for higher education of girls as for their primary instruction.[1]

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1. See Chapter V.

The above statement is only comparative and does not imply that Hindu and Moslem girls were more advanced than the Christians in higher education; it was not so.

SECTION B.

COLLEGIATE EDUCATION.

However, despite the slow progress of Secondary Education among girls, a tiny minority of Indians was taking an active interest in the subject. These no longer held aloof and as they grew in numbers and importance, they became more vocal and insistent in their demands. English-educated men, particularly those returning to India after completing their studies abroad, took the initiative. The question of higher education for women assumed some importance for they wanted to give the same opportunities to their wives and daughters. But there was no provision in India to give women instruction of a more advanced character other than the employment of European governesses. Hence some of the most advanced Indians preferred to send their daughters to England for further studies. Thus Dr. Goodeve Chakarvarti, one of the first Indians to take his medical degree in England, sent his daughter after him. She returned to India with Miss Mary Carpenter after six years abroad.[1]

But in Britain, too, female education was at the time

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1. Mary Carpenter: Six Months in India. Vol. I. P. 2.

retarded. The Report of the Royal Commission (1868) revealed the unsatisfactory state of Girls' Schools.[1] Repeated attempts by women to gain admission to the Universities had proved abortive.[2] Male prejudice barred the way to reform. Women were denied access to the Cambridge Local Examinations on the alleged ground that it would "give rise to so many jokes" and would appear so ridiculous a proceeding that the most promising boys would cease to present themselves at all.[3] Moreover, it was feared that such an innovation would bring into existence a dangerous spirit of rivalry between boys and girls.[4] Everyone knew girls to be "frothy and superficial," inefficient and pretentious, hardly likely to profit from the system of instruction meant for their more serious-minded brothers. If the advantages to be gained were small, the risk of the loss of femininity was thought to be both great and real.

These ideas prevailed when the Dutts arrived in England in 1869 and they had no alternative but to fall

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1. Report of the Schools Enquiry Commission: appointed 1864, reported 1868.
2. R. Strachey: The Cause, probably the best general account of the struggle of British women to secure facilities for higher education.
3. R. Strachey: The Cause. P. 135.
4. Ibid.

back upon private tutors and governesses for the instruction of their daughters.[1] Luckily for them, the supporters of higher education for women gained an important victory. "Higher Lectures for Women" were instituted at Cambridge. Toru Dutt attended them with "great zeal and application."[2] Small as the progress of female education in India was, it is remarkable that the first batch of British women to whom the advantages of University education were thrown open should have included an Indian girl.[3] This fact deserves some attention even though more than twenty years were to elapse before an Indian girl took her degree at Cambridge.[4]

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1. H. Das: Life and Letters of Toru Dutt. Pp. 34-35 and 39.
2. Ibid. P. 39.
   Toru Dutt: Sheaf from French Fields.
   See Appendix for Life of Toru Dutt.
3. The Dutts left for India before Cambridge allowed women to sit for examination. [See Toru Dutt: Sheaf from French Fields.]
4. Cambridge University does not officially confer degrees on women but from 1873 onwards allowed them to take the same examinations. [See R. Strachey: The Cause pp. 163-65] On their results separate Tripos Lists for women were issued. The prejudice continues unto this day as even the "Alumni Cantabrigenses" being compiled by Dr. Venn, which purports to be "A Biographical List of All known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge from the Earliest Times to 1900" does not include women.
   H. Das: Life and Letters of Toru Dutt P. 255. Letter to Miss Martin dated Jan.22 1877: Mrs. Bonnerjee, wife of a rising young Barrister (later the first President of the Indian National Congress) was sent to England to educate her daughters there.
   See also Index to Cambridge Tripos List 1748-1910 which lists women graduates separately right at the end.
   Ibid P. 329. Miss Bonnerjee (later on Mrs. K.S. Johnson), who took a Class I Tripos in 1891 from Girton College, seems to have been the first Indian girl to claim this honour. Two sisters followed in taking the Natural Science Tripos in Class I in 1892 and 1894 from Girton and Newnham respectively. Two other members of the family followed in 1903 and 1907. There are more "Bonnerjees" in Cambridge Tripos List for Women than any other name.

Lack of educational opportunities for women and the natural reluctance of Indian families to part from their girls necessarily put a premium upon the numbers of those proceeding to Britain for further studies. Finance was another consideration and only a few could afford to give their women such an expensive education.

Hence there arose a demand, especially from the growing number of Indians who had studied in Britain, for the provision of facilities for such education in India. It is also likely that many of these Indians, while studying at British Universities, had come under the influence of the Feminists who were actively campaigning to secure the entry of women to the Universities. This subject was being hotly discussed at the Universities and the sympathies of the Indian students lay with the Women's Cause.[1] On their return to India they sought to secure the same educational advantages for Indian women. Meanwhile, education was also steadily making headway among men in India. The three Universities had been founded in 1858 and three years later the first batch of Indian graduates qualified. Many of these, though not rich, were strongly in favour of educating women. They grew in numbers and importance and joined their forces with the

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1. The generality of Indian students in England seem prone to sympathise with the more radical movements. An enquiry into the causes opens an interesting subject but does not concern us here.

'England-returned' Indians. Before proceeding further this aspect of the Indian Movement must be carefully emphasised for it not only distinguished it from the corresponding British Movement but explains much that subsequently followed.

In Britain female education was much more wide-spread and middle-class women sought fresh educational opportunities to unlock the doors of careers which were closed to them by male monopoly and prejudice. On the other hand, the demand for the higher education of women in India came mainly from a small but influential section of highly educated Indian men and not from the women themselves. The Indians were not thinking of careers for women as such, for education would almost certainly have procured the latter suitable husbands.[1] This class of highly educated professional men was more influential and numerically stronger in Bengal than elsewhere and, with the help of official and non-official Europeans, first succeeded in securing the admission of women to Calcutta University. This explains the fact that although Bengal was socially more Conservative, and although female education there had not made the same advances as in the sister-Presidencies of Madras and Bombay,

1. See this Chapter p. 31. They did not raise a hue and cry when women were refused admission to the Calcutta Medical College. Otho Rothfield: Indian Women p. 151.

it led the way in the sphere of higher education for women. This becomes clearer as the origins of the movement are examined in greater detail.

Bethune School had met the initial demand of high-caste educated Indians for the instruction of their daughters.[1] Keshub Chunder Sen too had founded a similar school but the more progressive section of the Brahmos were not satisfied and pressed for the establishment of a more advanced institution.[2] Bengali boys were going to Britain for further studies in increasing numbers. It was felt that if during their absence their wives or fiancées were sent to a Boarding School in India to become familiar with English habits and customs, they would not find their husbands such strangers on their return.[3] Ananda Mohan Bose, the first Indian to qualify as Barrister, brought with him an English-woman to take charge of such a School.[4] As a result the Banga Mahila Bidyalaya, Ballygunge, was opened in 1874 under the superintendence of Miss Ackroyd with a staff of Englishwomen assisted by Pandits. It began with five boarders[5] but soon afterwards the numbers increased

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1. See Ch. IV Pp. 275-9.
2. Siva Nath Sastri: Men I have Seen p. 67.
3. Mary Carpenter: Report on Female Education in India.
4. Ibid p. 439.
5. Indian Evangelical Review Vol. I. 1874. P. 369.

to seventeen. Of these four were the wives of those who had been to or were in England, and five were young widows. The rest were unmarried girls who were presumably there to acquire the prestige of having enjoyed a progressive education with a view to improving their chances in the matrimonial field.

Only secular instruction was given. Some of the pupils were even taught to play the piano. The widows concentrated on learning how to teach. Most of the girls received some instruction in sewing, dress-making and superintendence of house-work[1] to counteract the charge that girls were merely being taught only expensive European habits.

The school was managed well by a strong Committee which included Mr. Justice and Mrs. Phear[2] and no disciplinary difficulties were experienced. Its easy success led the promoters to revise their aims and they now desired "to see girls appearing at the University examinations and finishing their education at the new College for Women established at Cambridge"[4]. The managers applied to the

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1. Journal of National Indian Association Jan. 1875 P. 11.
2. Indian Evangelical Review Vol. I. 1874 P. 369.
3. Journal of National Indian Association Jan. 1875 P. 11.
4. Report on Public Instruction Bengal 1876-77 p. 77.

Government for a grant. The Director of Public Instruction was sympathetic as in his opinion it was "in every sense the most advanced school in Bengal" and deserved all encouragement.[1]

The prospects of the School, however, were not as bright as they appeared and it was faced with serious difficulties. From the beginning the founders had been involved in a controversy with the followers of Keshub Chundur Sen, which eventually split the Brahmo-Saniag Movement in 1878. The missionaries were not favourably inclined towards the institution as in their opinion a Boarding-School without religious teaching was a dangerous undertaking and had not even been tried in England.[3] The buildings were totally inadequate for the purpose and it was even proposed to close the School temporarily.[4] The proposed departure of Mr. Justice and Mrs. Pheare from India[5] and the impending marriage of the Superintendent, Miss Ackroyd, further complicated matters.[6] Unless something were done, the School would have had to close down.

A way out of these difficulties was suggested by the

Ibid.
Siva Nath Sastri: Life of Ram Tanu Lahin. P. 141.
Indian Female Evangelist. Vol. I. July 1873, P 353.
Report on Public Instruction, Benga. 1876-77. P. 74.
Ibid.
Siva Nath Sastri: Life of Ram Tanu Lahiri. P. 141.
Parliamentary Papers 1877. Vol. LXIII. P. 442.

proposal to amalgamate it with the Bethune School which had been passing through similar vicissitudes. The Government was not satisfied with the latter's progress. It had certainly succeeded in attracting girls of higher castes, especially after the re-organisation of 1856, when it was placed under the management of a special Committee presided over by Cecil Beadon, one of the Secretaries to the Government of India.[1] This arrangement worked well until the visit of Miss Carpenter in 1866 focused public attention on the problem of training teachers. Then it was proposed to establish a Female Normal School in connection with Bethune School. This was opposed by Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar on the grounds that Purdah prevented Hindu women from taking up teaching as a vocation. Whatever be the reasons it was clear that the class of girls resorting to Bethune School would not take up teaching as a career. But it was decided to attach a Normal Class to the School. As a protest against this decision Vidyasagar resigned from the secretaryship of the institution.[2]

For a time the fortunes of the School were at a low ebb and the numbers fell to fifteen.[3] But it soon recovered. In 1873 it was removed from the Control of the Education

1. Correspondence relating to the System of Education in the Bombay Presidency P. 11. (India Office 496911. J. Richey, Selections from the Records of the Govt. of India, Part II. p. 435.
2. S. C. Mitra: Life of I.C.Vidyasagar, P. 228; 465-71.
3. Calcutta University Calendar 1941, P. 601.

Department and a Committee of Indians under the Presidency of Mr. Justice Phear was appointed to administer it.[1] Numbers somewhat dropped when a fee of Rs. 2 per mansem was imposed but the fall was not significant.[2] It seemed to have acquired a stable basis at last. While at first it had been difficult to get pupils, now it was easy enough to get girls even over twelve years of age. But the high cost of Rs. 80 p.a. per pupil [3] was hardly justified and the authorities felt that this money could be far better spent on higher education for which there was certainly a demand.[4]

Mr. Justice Phear, Chairman of the Bethune School Managing Committee, agreed with this view, and did not think this heavy expenditure on "infant education" justifiable, especially as it was not desired even by those directly concerned. The amalgamation of Bethune and Ballygunga Schools seemed to him to be the ideal solution as this would promote higher education for which there was a greater demand. The additional buildings could be erected from private subscriptions and as most of the boarders were expected to pay for their maintenance, another Rs. 250 per mansem was deemed

1. Report on Public Instruction Bengal 1876-77 P. 74.
2. Ibid. 1873-74 P. 69.
3. Ibid. 1875-76 P. 69.
4. Report on Public Instruction Bengal 1876-77, P. 74.

sufficient to meet the expenses of the joint establishment.[1]

The Government appointed a Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Cecil Garth to consider the alternative proposals that had been forward.[2] As a result of its recommendations the Bethune and Ballygunge Schools were amalgamated.[3] The Government grant was raised to Rs. 900 p.m.[4] The boarders were accommodated in the house formerly occupied by the Lady Superintendent until new buildings could be completed. There were fifteen grown-up girls in residence.

This was the starting-point of the modern Bethune College.[4] In 1878, however, there was only one student in the English class and she passed the University Entrance Examination in the same year, failing to secure a First Class by only one mark.[5] Her success led to the opening of college classes chiefly owing to the interest taken by Sir Alfred Croft but for whose sympathy the idea may never have materialised.[6] Sir A. Hobhouse,

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Ibid. Miss Brittan of the American Mission offered to maintain a Day School of 300 Children with 25 boarders at the same cost to the Govt. if she were permitted "to speak her mind freely in matters of religion". The proposal was nearly accepted when the Indians protested against a missionary being allowed to take over the School. The Govt. appointed a Committee to go over the matter in detail.

Ibid. 1877-78. P. 77.

Ibid. 1876-77. P. 74.

Ibid. 1878-79. P. 81.

Ibid.

Calcutta University Calendar 1941. P. 601.

the vice-chancellor of the Calcutta University, described the "perplexity of the Senate for their rules had neither contemplated nor forbidden such a thing".[1] However, the provisions were generously interpreted. In addition, she was awarded a prize and given a special Junior scholarship.[2]

Two years later she and another girl from the Scottish Free Church Normal School passed the First Arts Examination and expressed the desire to read for the degrees. This led to the opening of Degree Classes and both took their residence at the Bethune School. They were awarded scholarships and even though the former was removed from the school on her marriage,[3] both duly took their degrees in 1883.[4] After that the College Classes, which had been started as an experimental measure, became permanent.[5]

The University of Caluctta thus quite unobtrusively admitted women to its degress while women in many other countries were still struggling to secure the same privileges. Nor did Bombay and Madras Universities display any hesitation in granting the same right

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1. E. Stock: The History of the Church Missionary Society. Vol. III p.510.
2. Report on Public Instruction Bengal 1878-79.p.81.
3. Ibid 1880-81. p.87.
4. Calcutta University Calender 1941 p.601.
5. Ibid.

to women.[1] India's men conceded the principle with a commendable grace whereas in Britain women had to fight hard for the educational opportunities they gained throughout the century. It was this fact that largely accounts for the absence of any of the sex-antagonism in India which was a bitter legacy of the British Feminist Movement. All the same, whereas the movement for the higher education of women in England was a native growth seeking, howver unconsciously, to canalise the energies of a growing number of unmarried middle-class women, the Indian movement lacked any such solid basis. It was an exotic plant which the England-returned Indians sought to transplant on the home-soil. As such it bore a strong resemblance to its British counterpart. No doubt, the Indian ground did not offer an equal resistance; but the roots never went so deep.

Its exotic character becomes more apparent if a detailed comparison is made with the British movement. Thus in England, almost from the beginning there were two schools of thought among those who were seeking facilities for the higher education of women.

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1. Universities opened to women: Zurich 1867, Paris 1868, Sweden and Finland 1870, Denmark 1875, Italy 1876, London 1878, Dublin 1879, Norway 1884, Spain and Rumania 1888, Belgium and Greece 1890, Scotland 1892.
Foundation of Women's Colleges: Girton 1872, Newnham 1875, Lady Margaret &Somerville 1879.
See The Cambridge Modern History vol XII p.762.
F.E. Chapman: Some Distinguished Indian Women p.8.

One section believed that women were quite similar and equal to men in their mental capacities and should therefore take the same courses, others were content to secure all the benefits of higher education for women even if no examinations and awards of degrees followed the succesful conclusion of the course. The founders of the Girton and Newnham Colleges respectively embodied the two attitudes.[1] Even so, the founders of Girton made considerable compromise with public opinion. Thus they founded the College outside the two mile limit which was regarded as a safe distance to secure for the young ladies the necessary protection from indiscriminate mixing with the male members of the University.[2] The girls, on their arrival were met at the station and safely conducted to their Colleges. Suitable arrangements were made for almost constant chaperonage not only at lectures but at examinations as well.[3] Their dress, conduct and behaviour were carefully supervised.[4] Further, Miss Wordsworth, the daughter of a Bishop, grand-daughter of the Master of Trinity and a great niece of the Poet, was appointed Principal of Lady Margaret Hall to assure the more sceptical of the parents

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1. R. Strachey: The Cause. p.143-44;148.
2. Ibid p.159.
3. Ibid p.161-162.
4. Ibid p.162.

that Oxford was socially conservative and as such both respectable and safe for their daughters[1] such was the beginning of higher education for women in England!

In India, therefore, with its very different traditions of womanhood, where all education was suspect as being foreign and laboured somewhat under the taint of proselytism, the subject needed even more tactful handling. But no such pallatines to public opinion were forthcoming. It was fondly assumed that the best policy was to disregard the customs and traditions of the country. Even at Bethune College, which, with the exception of Isabella Thoburn College, was the only institution of its kind for girls in India, the teaching staff of men taught for degree. Elsewhere the girls sat side by side with boys in the same classes pursuing the same courses. Unlike England, education in India did not lead to employment,[2] for women, and, as such was to remain a luxury reserved for the rich for some time to come. No attempt was made to gain the confidence of this class by making arrangements designed particularly to suit the peculiar needs of Indian women arising out of such customs as Purdah.

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1. Janet Courtney: The Women of my Time p.267. Miss Shaw LeFevre appointed Head of Somerville was equally respectable. She was the grand-daughter of the Speaker of the House of Commonds.
2. Otto Rothfeld: Indian Women. p.151.

The result was that some girls of the upper classes preferred to proceed to England and America for higher education thereby further limiting the number of those passing through the Degree Courses of the Indian Universities.

Lack of a sufficient number of women pursuing higher studies has always sharply differentiated Women's Colleges in India from those in England. Girton and Newnham were well-fed by a number of efficient girls' day and boarding schools. Women in residence there pursued higher studies under suitable women-tutors supplemented by the lectures open to the University students in general. At Bethune College there was no such clear differentiation of the University stage of education from the school. In fact the school was far more important and the College classes were merely grafted upon it. There was no clean break between the school and the University and the new designation of College merely concealed a modest reality under a high-sounding title, half-a-dozen or so among a coule of hundred schoolgirls of all ages pursuing degree courses. As a result the former missed most of the advantages associated with University education. Given the social atmosphere of India, the intercourse with the male staff could not be intimate

enough to leave a lasting imprint on their characters. They missed the inspiring stimulus of powerful minds, nor could social and corporate life in such an institution have been as invigorating and intense as in the well-conducted women's colleges at Oxford and Cambridge.

In consequence human and personal aspects of University life were sacrificed to the cramming of set text-books. Over-emphasis of intellectual life was all the more pronounced in the case of girls. Their lives were largely dominated by the spectre of examinations. Tired brains plodded through dull text-books leaving little time for constructive and creative thought. Climatic conditions and neglect of physical exercise made matters worse. Perhaps the failure to take steps to recuperate the body after the strain of pursuing advanced courses largely accounted for the early death of many of the pioneers of higher education.[1]

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1. Christian Education in India: Missionary Reports III p.48. Maud Diver: The Englishwomen in India. p.193. 'An early death would seem to be the inevitable lot of the advanced guard of India's educated women, and the reason is not far to seek. The premature development of body and mind rests upon no solid foundation of physical strength, nor has the slow mysterious work of heredity as yet prepared their brains for the unwonted pressure forced upon them by Schools & Universities. Thus the fragile body is apt to wear out before the brain can reach the summit of dts powers. While the danger of early death is increased by the necessary visits to Europe & America, whose damp cold climates have robbed India of more than one promising young life. See also this Chap.p for Annandibai Joshee andApp.f. Dutt

The movement for higher education of Indian women would have been more popular had it not so slavishly followed the British pattern and had it taken greater account of the peculiar customs of the country. If a College had been established entirely staffed by European women and the same time arrangements made for girls to attend the University lectures under careful supervision even those girls whose parents objected to co-education could have been attracted to the institution. If efforts had also been made to improve the standard of instruction in the girl's schools, a fairly regular flow of suitable students to the College might have been maintained. Even a lowering of standard could be risked with no great possibility of harm as they were not going to take up careers in any case. The curriculum should have been adapted to Indian conditions. To a certain extent this was done at Calcutta by allowing girls to substitute Botany and Political Economy for Higher Mathematics at F.A. and B.A. Examinations, respectively.[1]

A bolder spirit was shown by Madras where the Higher Examination for women was specially instituted to permit them to follow their particular apitudes. The syllabus[2] showed some imagination as

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1. Indian Female Evangelists. vol.III p.260.
2. Madras Provincial Education Cmte Report 1884. p. 188-9 (see Appendix IX)

well as as an awareness of the practical needs of the community. A noteworthy attempt was made to bridge the gulf between the education of European, Eurasian and Indian girls by making a knowledge of each others languages. Compulsory for all.[1] It was a happy augury for the future. Ignorance of Indian languages was the chief obstacle to British and Eurasian women playing a greater part in the education of Indian girls.[2] Dress-making was also an obvious concession to women. Indian girls were tested in making Indian dresses while European girls had to cut a shirt.[3] The choice of "The History of India from 1817 to 1858" as the compulsory subject is,however, less easy to understand and defend. The list of optional subjects was fairly comprehensive to make genuine choice possible.[4] Whilst making these special changes to suit the needs of women, this examihation was given the same prestige as the University Matric.[5] It was thus recognised as a qualifying examination for entrance to the Medical College Diploma Course.[6]

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1. Madras Provincial Education Cmte Report 1884. p.188-9. (See Appendix)
2. Ibid.
3. See Chapter VIII.
4. Appendix. IX
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.

6. Report on Public Instruction Madras 1883-84. p.58.

Despite the languages qualification, it soon gained great popularity and in general, women preferred it to taking Matric.[1]

If a similar pattern had been followed elsewhere, and extended to cover Degree Courses, an indigenous system of education in harmony with the needs of the country might have been evolved. But as already stated this was not done. The movement, lacking a solid cultural or economic basis, necessarily remained weak. Higher education remained confined to a very small section of Indian women. By the end of the century only one other women's college had been founded. This was the Isabella Thoburn College,

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1. Madras Provincial Education Comte Report 1889.p.132.

MATRIC

Year.	Registered.	Examined.	1st Cl.	2nd. Cl.	Total.
1877-78	2	2	1	-	1
1878-79	2	2	-	-	-
1879-80	6	6	-	-	-
1880-81	9	9	1	5	6
1881-82	4	3	-	2	2

1882-83 The report on Public Instruction, Madras does not mention any girls going up for Matric.

HIGHER EXAMINATION FOR WOMEN

Year	No. of schools.	No.of cand.sent.	Passed.
1877-78			
1878-79			
1879-80			
1880-81			
1881-82	9	55	24
1882-83	9	60	26

NOTE: As the matric candidates were mainly Europeans and Eurasians, this falling off in numbers suggests that the Higher Examination for women became equally popular with them.

established at Lucknow by the American Women's Foreign Missionary Society in 1870 as a school for girls. It was raised to the status of a College affiliated to Calcutta University sixteen years later.[1]

Thus Indian women could obtain higher education in one of the following ways. They could proceed to England to study privately or to join one of the recently established Colleges for women at Oxford and Cambridge. As other British Universities also opened their doors to women, Indian girls, who had the necessary finance and the inclination could take advantage of the new facilities. In India there were two Women's Colleges, the Bethune and the Isabella Thoburn, which prepared women up to the degree Standard. As women were also at liberty to join any of the existing men's Colleges and prepare for the degrees of the Indian Universities side by side with the boys. A few also joined some of the schools for

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1. Lucknow University Calender 1937-38 p.219. J.S. Dennis: Centennial Survey of Missions. p.70-71. He describes it as &the first College for Women in Asia". This is an exaggeration as Bethune College was earlier. It was not until 1883 that the first students from the Isabella Thoburn High School took the Government Examination. They appeared for the Calcutta University examinations until the institution was affiliated to the Allahabad University in 1895.

European and Eurasian girls, which, though outside the supervision of the Universities, provided instruction of a somewhat advanced character.[1] Thus by 1883 the skeleton of higher education for Indian women had been completed, it only remained to put on the flesh. This proved difficult. Lack of economic incentive and too close an imitation of the British sytem of education hindered rapid progress. Early marriage and other social customs were unfavourable to continuous and prolonged instruction of Indian women. Only a very tiny minority aspired to the highest academic honours thus placed within their reach. It is no exaggeration to say that in 1881-82 of the 5,969 candidates who passed the F.A., 2434 the B.A., and 385 the M.A. Examinations from the 65 Arts Colleges in India less than a dozen were women![2]

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1. Indian Education Commission Report 1884. p.269.
2. Four to be precise. (See Indian Education Commission Report 1884 p.537 Column 5)

SECTION C

Professional Education (Medical)

Another example of the haphazard way in which the education of women developed in India is provided by the fact that while Bengal was the pioneer in the sphere of University education, Madras was the first to prvide facilities to trainkngx Women for the Medical profession. The need for female doctors in a country like India where medical aid was scarfe in any case was obvious. The progress of Zenana work had further revealed the sufferings of Indian women. Observing strict pardah, they received almost no medical attention as doctors were male. Public attention was focussed on their condition by the efforts of British women who were trying to secure admission to the Medical Colleges in Great Britain. In July 1874, Furrel, the Surgeon-General of Madras, who seems to have been a liberal and far-sighted man, proposed to make the necessary arrangements to admit women students to the Medical College. "After considerable discussion it was finally resolved that they should be admitted, and that, with the exception of midwifery, surgery and a few lectures on anatomy and physiology they should be taught in the same classes as the male students.[1] This was far in advance of the ideas of

1. Report on Public Instruc. Madras Pres. 1874-75 p.27
journal of Nat. Indian Assoc. Dec. 1876 p.369.

propriety in contemporary England where even the staunchest supporters of female medical missionaries were of the opinion that such co-education "could not be condemned in too severe language."[1] Three women came forward to take advantage of the facilities thus offered to them They were welcomed by the male students of the College who even rose to cheer when one of the girls entered the class.[2]

These pioneers made commendable progress and their example was followed by other women.[3] Later the Prindipal of the Medical College suggested the imposition of a fee[4] but the Government rightly refused to agree.[5] The first batch passed the qualifying examination in 1878 with great credit.[6]

Experience, however, revealed some defects in the organisation of the courses. In 1882 three of the four girls who appeared at the qualifying examihaation for the College Diploma, were unsuccessful This led to an enquiry which showed that failure was largely due to an "overcrowding of subjects in the second year of study" rather than to "any defects in

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1. Memoir of W. Jackson Elmslie p.249.
2. S. Satthianadhan: Sketches of Indian Christians.p.47-8
3. Reports on Public Instruction Madras Presidency 1875-76, p.215.1877-78 p.117;1880-81 p.205;1881-82 p.62.
4. Ibid 1880-81 p.76. 5. Ibid.1882-83 p.55.
6.Report on public Instruction Madras 1877-78, p.117.

the Candidates themselves." A reshuffling of the curriculum was suggested.[1] It was also decided to recognise the Higher Examination for Women as equivalent to Matric for purposes of admission to the Medical College.[2][3] Most of the women who joined chose to take the College Diploma which entitled them to practice in India. The staff of the Medical College was quite satisfied with their diligence and the high standard reached by them.[4] In 1884 one student took the L.M.S. Degree and this became the first female graduate of the Madras University.[5]

Madras therefore had the honour of being the first City in the British Empire to provide facilities for women to train as doctors.[6] Women were thus admitted to the Madras Medical College on a footing of complete equality with men without even the semblance of a struggle. Male prejudice and selfishness still denied the same privilege to women in England. There the men refused to train or examine women. Thus women were legally eligable for the

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1. Ibid 1882-83 p.56.
2. Ibid 1883-84 p.58.
3. Ibid 1881-82 p.62. ;1882883 p.56.
4. Ibid 1885-86 p.25.
5. See page 24.
6. Progress of Women's Education in the British Empire. p.99.

for the Midwifery License of the Royal College of Surgeons which entitled them to be placed on the Medical Register. This right had not been used and in 1875 when three women applied for admission to the examination, the Midwifery Board had to accept them Then the whole Board of Examiners at once resigned and without examiners no examination was forthcoming. The women were "checkmated".[1] Men students in Edinburgh were more energetic and they rioted as a protest against the admission of women to the Medical Faculty.[2]

It would therefore seem strange that while the main battle for the entry of women to the medical profession was being fought in Britain, the news of its first actual victory should have come from far-distant Madras. A break like that is often made/where the strain is greatest but where there is least resistance. The propaganda tactics of British women had given wide publicity to the need for female doctors and attracted the attention of some of the Europeans in India. From the state of society in that

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1. R. Strachey: The Cause. p.254.
2. Ibid. p.177-82. There is an interesting account of the incident. Even the judiciary seemed to frown on the ambitions of women and the case ended with Sophia Jex-Blake being fined a farthing and ordered to pay £1000 as costs!

country it was clear that women were not likely to come flocking to Medical Colleges but would have to be persuaded to do so. The measure affected fewer people, and unlike Britain, here no major vested interests were threatened; male doctors did not have the fear of the competition of women practitioners. There was little risk of inaugerating a major social change if a few women were permitted to join the Medical College. Hence it was safe to experiment and a few bolder spirits (like the Surgeon-General of Madras) could have their own way.

At the same time it must not be supposed that educated Europeans all over India were equally broad-minded. Madras happened to be the exception. In 1880 the application of two women seeking admission to the Calcutta Medical College for the Degree Course met with such determined opposition from the Profess-ors of the College that the proposal was for the time being dropped.[1] The girls had passed the necessary First Arts examination and were refused admission solely on grounds of their sex. Sixteen out of the twenty members of the Medical Faculty were Europeans.[2] The two girls (one of whom was a Bengali

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1. Report on Public Instruction Beggal Presidency 1880-81 p.91. Bangal Provincial Educ. Cmte Report 1882 p.108.
2. Calcutta University Calender 1881 -82 p.96.

and the other Portuguese) were not discouraged and joined the Madras Medical College instead. They were each granted a scholarship of Rs. 20 per mensem by the Government.[1] Thus girls from Bengal had to cross the boundaries of their province to pursue medical studies.

This situation did not last long. In 1883 the Calcutta authorities decided that the example of Madras could be safely followed and opened the doors of the Medical College to women students.[2] A year later Maharani Surnanmayi of Cossimbazar gave a dontation of Rs.150,000 for the construction of a hostel for women medical students in Calcutta.[3] The building was completed[4] shortly afterwards and gave the students the advantage of a corporate life.

The entrance of Indian women to the medical profession was made easy because the small conscious minority of men in India did not feel their interests threatened by them. Moreover, caste restrictions, which might have otherwise been insurmoutable, had already been successfully disposed of by high-caste men who willingly took up the medical profession,

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1. Bengal Provincial Education Cmte Report 1882 p.108.
   Report on Public Institution Bengal 1884-85 p.94.
2. Review of Education in India 1886. Chap.II p.4.
   Ibid p.287. Para 235.
3. Report on Public Instruction Bengal 1884-85 p.94
4. Ibid 1885-86 p.81.

in increasing numbers.[1] An instance of how serious these initial fears and difficulties could be is provided by the following dramatic account given by Mr. J.E.D.Bethune on the occasion of his presenting to the Medical College a portrait of Madhusudan Gupta who made the first attempt to dissect a dead body: "I have had the scene described to me. It needed some time, some exercise of the persuasive art, before Madhusudan could bend up his mind to the attempt; but having once taken the resolution,he never flinched nor swerved from it. At the appointed house, scalpel in hand, he followed Dr. Goodeve into the godown where the body

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1. Medical training for men developed as follows: 1835 Medical classes in the Sunskrit College and Mudrussa were abolished and the Calcutta Med. Coll. was established, "in which the various branches of medical science cultivated in Europe should be taught & as near as possible on the approved European system". In the same year dissection was introduced as a part of the course. 1838: First hospital in connection with the Coll. was opened. In 1845 a scheme for the systematic instruction of apprentices in the European Subordinate Department was approved by the Court of Directors." 1858:"On the constitution of the Calcutta University the former Diploma Examination of the Coll. was abolished and examinations leading to degrees, viz. Licentiate in Medicine & Surgery & Doctor of Medicine were instituted." Similar Colleges were also established at Bombay & Madras (J.Richey:Selecticus from the Educational Records of the Govt. of India PartII p.312-338) During the decade 1871-82 the total number of graduates in medicine was 225;of them18 came from Madras, 76 from Bombay & 13 from Bengal.(Indian Educ.Report Comm. 1884 p.281)

2. J. Richey: Selections from Educational Records of the Quest. of India. Part II p.313.

lay ready. The other students deeply interested in what was going forward but strangely agitated with mingled feelings of curiosity and alarm, crowded after them, but durst not enter the building where this fearful deed was to be perpetrated; they clustered round the door; they peeped through the jilmils, resolved at least to have ocular proof of its accomplishment. And when Madhusudan's knife, held with a strong and steady hand, made a long and deep incision in the breast the lookers-on drew a long gasping breath like men relieved from the weight ofsome intolerable suspense."

If the struggle of the advance-guard of British women to secure entry to the medical profession had thus indirectly brought that privilege first to Indian women, the latter, however unconsciously repaid the debt. The Indian example set an important precedent and demonstrated that such an innovation was neither disastrous nor impracticableAbove all, the British Feminists, effectively exploited the actual condition of the women of India to remove the objections of their opponents. Their argument that some English-women preferred to be seen by female doctors did not cut much ice. Such women were not regarded as sufficiently numerous to warrant so radical a departure from tradition as the entry of women to the medical

profession would entail. But Tories and Liberals, missionaries and retired Anglo-Indians all alike agreed that the need of Indian women for medical aid was both great and urgent. Because of their secluded state (Pardah system), this could only be brought to them by women doctors.[1] Even Dr. Duff, no great friend of the Feminists, ackmowledged the necessity of sending out women missionaries to India who had received some preliminary medical training in England.[2] Experienced men bore testimony to the effect that medical missions alone could open up Zenanas of the more orthodox Moslems who had hitherto remained impervious to the educational efforts of the missionaries.[3] Mrs. Thorne, the first honorary secretary of the Henrietta Street School, and the "Ulysses of a movement of which Miss Jex-Blake has been Achilles",[4] was led to the study of medicine solely by the fact that in her early married life in China, she sorely felt the need of medical knowledge, as she was unable to get

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1. G.W. Johnson: The Evolution of Woman p.179-80.
   International Review of Missions 1916 p.295.
2. Helen Montogomery L Western Women in Eastern Lands. p.325.
3. Memoir of W. Jackson Elmslie M.D. p.247.
4. The Fortnightly review 1886 p.20.

skilled medical advice and attributed the death of her first baby to want of such knowledge. Believing at that time that her life would have to be spent largely in the East she felt it imperative to return to England to obtain medical education."[1]

From this the Feminists further argued that the question of the relative incompetence of women doctors did not arise. As these noble pioneers were in the first instance to bring succour to heathern women abroad British lives would not be endangered by their supposed incompetence whilst to the suffering women of India and China any medical aid would be a boon. This also partly dispelled the fear of competition which haunted the male practictioners. If the female doctors were primarily for export, their own interests were not threatened by an influx of them in the home-field. It was a very re-assuring factor in softening male hostility to the aspirations of women.[2]

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1. Mrs. I. Thorne: Sketch of the Foundation & Development of the London School of Medicine for Women p.54. Also compare how the main stimulus for Annandibai Josheeto study medicine came from the same source. See p.512

2. Contemporary Review Vol. LVI p.207. R. Strachey: The Cause p.263. It is hardly possible to exaggerate this fear Oxford when it admitted women to the examinations excluded theology, medicine & Law (the three chief directions in which University studies might lead directly to professional appointments) but in 1895 an exception was made in favour of Miss Cornelia Sorabji who was preparing for legal work in India. It thus became clear that exclusion was based not so much upon any inherent impropriety as upon the desire to reduce the competition.." Report of the Inter. Congress of Women1899."Women in Propfession vol."p.32 Rules were relaxed on the pleas of peculiar needs of India & enabled an Indian woman to qualify as a barrister. But she was"prevented solely by reason of her sex from pleading in Court."

These arguments no doubt helped to clear the air but the deadlock remained.[1] It was partly resolved by some women seeking training abroad. But the question of where to go and the uncertainty whether foreign degrees would be sufficiently well thought of in England made this unsatisfactory. Then there was the language difficulty. Family disapproval, the difficulty of finding decent lodgings in a foreign town, danger of ill-health following upon overwork and financial worries and loneliness of exile were also serious obstacles standing in the way.[2] A few daring spirits might defy such dangers but not the generality of middle-class women.

For the majority the hope still lay in forcing open the doors of the Medical Colleges in Britain. In this they received valuable assistance from evangelical philanthropists which has not generally been recognised by the historians of the Feminist Movement. Though Conservative in their outlook and even stoutly opposed to the entry of women to the medical profession, their 'Christian Conscience' had been stirred by the sufferings of Indian women. Some of them were already in the habit of instructing privately, intending women missionaries in common tropical ailments.

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1. See page 499

2. R. Strachey: The Cause p.184.

It was not long before the logic of the situation forced itself upon them and they realised that a more formal training would be of greater value to women proceeding abroad. IN 1878 the University of London granted women facilities for training and examination, largely due to the influence of the great surgeon Sir James Paget.[1] It was no mere accident that Lord Shaftesbury, who "took an active interest in foreign missions and was President of several of the most important philanthropic and religious societies of London,"[2] was chosen a governor of the first Medical School for Women in England.[3] Sir Henry W. Acland, who made the Oxford Medical School famous, also recognised the pressing need for female medical missionaries.[4] Miss Florence Nightingale, though keeping herself aloof from the movement, was no less keen to send suitably trained medical women to India. Thus otherwise socially Conservative people, prompted by their conscience to

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1.R. Strachey: The Cause p.255. See Dictionary of National Biography Supplement vol.III.p.241 "He had strong religious convictions...and...was always careful in the religious observances of the Church of England." Also Sir James Paget: Edited by S. Paget p.426-8.
2. Encyclopoedia Brittanica vo. XX.p.249 (14th Ed.)
3. I. Thorne: Sketch of the Foundation & Development of the London School of Medicine for Women.p.24,26,31.
4. Medical Missions in their Relation to Oxford. "An Address by Sir H.W. Acland Note V. p.72-3.

supply the needs of foreign medical missions, were led almost against their will to support the admission of women to the medical schools. The part played by men and women inspired by the religious motive in securing the opening of the profession to women has been inadequately, if at all, appreciated by the champions of women's rights.

Nor were foreign medical missions employed merely as pawns in the game to be abandoned on the first dawn of success. During the early years of their entry to the medical profession large numbers of Women were prospective medical missionaries. The highest grade of lady-doctors in India was practically all recruited from England and America. The United Kingdom branch of the Dufferin Asscoiation even offered special scholarships at the Royal Free Hospital to those who would proceed to India on qualifying.[1] Miss Hurlbatt, the Principal of Bedford College, London, reckoned that in the year 1896-97 there were "at least 85 British women (doctors) practising in India and forty-five in China."[2]

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1. Journal of London School of Medicine for Women. Jan. 1897. p.222.
2. Report of the International Congress of Women 1899. Edited by Countess of Aberdeen: Women in Professions vol. p.32. At the same time she also estimated that there were 85 women in Londoh and 54 in other towns in England practising medicine. See also Fortnightly Review 1886 p.3o-1.

Whether this was due to the fact that opportunities for work at home were only offered to women doctors after they had demonstrated their practical abilities in foreign fields[1] or whether they were genuinely inspired by noble ideals to take such aid to lands where it was almost non-existent, it is difficult to say; obviously the motives were mixed and there is no gainsaying the fact that in the face of existing prejudices, prospects abroad appeared brighter. In short, "a great impetus was given to the entrance of women into the medical profession by the need for their services in India."[2]

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1. International Review of Mission 1916 p.295.
2. Report of the International Congress of Women.1899 p.32.
There was another link with India. After finishing their preliminary training at the Madras Medical College some women proceeded to London. The most remarkable of such women was Mrs. Scharlieb who joined the London School of Medicine for Women. In 1881 she took 1st class honours in Materia Medica and Pharmaceutical Chemistry. In Nov. 1882 she obtained the Gold Medal & Exhibition in Obstetric Medicine with honours in Medicine and Forensic Medicine. She returned to the Madras Medical College as Lecturer in Forensic Medicine & a year later passed the M.D. Lond. 'The first woman to take this degree'. She was also appointed to the Faculty of Medicine of the London University. In Feb.1902 she was appointed 'Physician for the Diseases of Women'. In 1908 she resigned the post of Senior Gynaecological Physician to the Royal Free Hospital but her connection with the hospital was not finally severed until 1913. She had served the school for 25 years and their appreciation of her services was placed on record. (See I. Thorne: Sketch of the Found. & Dev. of the London School of Med. for Women. p.31-33,45,52 and57)

Thus the medical needs of the women of India not only won for some of them the right to qualify and practise as doctors but also played a major part in securing similar privileges for women in Britain. But once British women had won the right to qualify their progress was rapid and continuous whereas only a few women entered the Indian Medical Colleges. Caste, custom, lack of general education and the absence of ambitious 'surplus' middle-class women seeking to make careers for themselves were among the chief causes which prevented a steady flow.

All the same the stream could have been considerably widened by giving careful thought to the subject of female doctors and seeing that the first batch was settled in suitably selected areas. Such consideration was not forthcoming from the Govt. and the first women trained at the Madras Medical College found "that there was no sudden rush to secure their services". This was hardly surprising considering the general poverty of the country. The Government subsidised male assistants which gave them time to establish themselves in private practice but it threw women doctors outright on their own resources. This state of affairs naturally discouraged new entrants and could have been easily avoided by giving them employment in State dispensaries.[1]

1. Contemporary Review August 1882. p.271.

It remains to note just one more avenue whereby Indian women could obtain medical education of the University standard. If British Universities barred women fromtheir portals some of the continental countries and America did not. In the United States there were co-educational as well as separate medical schools for women.[1] The language difficulty made Indian women prefer America to the Continent as facilities for India were few. Annandi Bai Joshee, the first learning European languages in/Indian woman doctor to qualify abroad successfully faced all the hazards[2] that such an undertaking involved. Her story is important in more ways than one and its inclusion in the main body of the thesis is justifiable.[3]

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1. Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell the first woman doctor on the British Medical Register took her M.D. from America; Mrs. Garrett Anderson got on the register in 1865 by taking the medical examination of the society of Apothecaries, but a new rule stopped this. Drs. S. Jex-Blake and Edith Pechey and Mrs. Atkins, before being admitted to the examination of the Royal College of Physicians, Ireland, had obtained their degrees at the Universities of Berne and Zurich.
2. See page 604.
3. For the Life of First Englishwoman Doctor, S.Elizabeth Blackwell, see Appendix VIII

She was born in March 1865. Her father, Gunpat Raj A. Joshee, was a rich Brahmin landowner living near Bombay. Her mother's uncle was a distinguished physician at Poona, her birthplace. At the early age of nine, she was married to her tutor Gopal Vinayak Joshee, who was a clerk in the Govt. Post Office. She was hardly thirteen when she gave birth to a child who died after a few days.

This sad event led her to take up medicine to relieve the sufferings of Indian women. Her husband, instead of opposing the idea, did everything to encourage her. She joined a school run by the Society for Promoting the Gospel to improve her knowledge of English. She admired the self-sacrifice of Women missionaries but 'denounced the entire system of religious teaching adopted by the Christians in India' being 'forced to read the Bible under threat of expulsion'. She even left the school but was persuaded to return by her husband, as she could not get the same teaching elsewhere.

Gopal wrote a letter to a missionary magazine in America appealing for help but the Editor was not very encouraging. The correspondence in the magazine was accidentally seen by a Mrs. Carpenter of Roselle who immediately offered to help. The Post Office appointment had taken the Joshees to

Calcutta,- The damp climate and the socially conservative atmosphere of Bengali didnot suit the freer Mahratta spirits. They were glad when arrangements for her departure were completed. Mr. James, the Postmaster General, being particularly helpful in collecting money. Some missionary friends provided their escort. On the eve of her departure she emphatically declared "I will go to America as a Hindu, and come back and live among my people as a Hindu." She kept her promise; throughout her stay abroad she remained a vegetarian and put on the saree and sindur (a red speck on the forehead put on by Hindu women).

After visiting England en route, she arrived in New York in June 1883. Mrs. Carpenter introduced her to Dr. Rachel Bodley, Dean of Women's Medical College, Philadelphia, who very kindly put her up in her own house. In October she matriculated and gained ascholarship worth 400 dollars. In 1885 she took the Examination and was placed 8th in a class of 42. In 1886 she took her degree of Doctor of Medicine.

But by this time clouds had begun to gather. Hard work seems to have impaired her health. Contrary to all expectations, she did not condemn child marriage as an institution,[1] which lost her a

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1. Mrs. Marcus B. Fuller. Wrongs of Indian Womanhood.p.162.

great deal of her popularity. There also seems to have been some misunderstanding with her husband which caused her some distraction. However, she sailed for India and was offered charge of the female wards of the Albert Edward Hospital, Kol Napur, at a salary of Rs.500 p.m. But soon after her arrival in India, she died on Feb.22nd 1887 at the comparatively young age of 22.

In proceeding to America she had violated the rules of caste. But she and her husband instead of being persecuted on their return received sympathy from all sections of the people. Thus Gopal wrote in a letter, "Properly speaking, we were outcastes but none reminded us of it. A few days ago the pacification of the waters was performed for her.... Did they consider me an outcaste when they asked me to do this? Even the reformers are astonished at the manner in which we have been treated by the most orthodox Hindues. We have conquered every enemy but Death."[1]

Her life shows how even a high-caste girl could overcome the handicap of sex by courage and persistence, nay even turn a tragedy into a triumph. It reveals the effect of a bigoted system of religious instruction on a deeply sensitive nature. But it also

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1. Mrs. Dale: Life of A.B. Joshi. p.179.
F.E. Chapman: Distinguished Indian Women p.48.
Maud Diver: EnglishWoman in India. p.201.

reflects the spirit of friendliness and co-operation with which men in India met the rising aspirations of women. Indians and Europeans, officials and missionaries alike helped her financially and otherwise to achieve her ambitions. The welcome given to her on her return by the most orthodox sections of the Hindu community showed that if those who had been abroad did not assume the more vulgar airs of the West they would be received back wholeheartedly into the fold by under-going nominal 'purifications'. All these were important pointers to those who were to follow in her footsteps even though they were not always noticed. Above all her early death once again made it imperative for Indian women to see that their constitution kept pace with their mental development and they did not overstrain themselves.

SECTION D

Medical Training of Lower Standards.

Clearly only very few women could go up for the medical degrees or diplomas of the Universities, Indian or foreign, as preliminary education of a high standard was required and the courses themselves were long and arduous. Women with the highest qualifications were only a fraction of those required to supply the needs of the largest towns; smaller towns and villages could not afford to offer them the amenities which would have attracted them to settle there. Yet their need was great and the authorities were fully aware of the situation. During the tours of their districts, the Civil surgeons saw for themselves the prevailing conditions. It was common knowledge that the indigenous practitioners, the Hakims and Vaidyas, knew little about the diseases of women.[1] Government dispensaries, where they existed, were almost exclusively patronised by men as few women cared to be examined by male doctors. The need for skilled aid, particularly in maternity cases, was acutely felt. Indian Dais (Midwives) were ignorant, untrained and meddlesome. "No sort of training is held necessary for the work. As a calling it descends in families... therefore in total, you have

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1. Indian Female Evangelist vol. 1. p.198.

half-blind, the aged, the crippled, the palsied and the diseased, drawn from the dirtiest poor, as sole ministrants to the women of India in the most delicate, the most dangerous and the most important hour of their existence."[1]

In these circumstances some of the more enterprising Civil-surgeons pondered upon the means whereby immediate medical relief might be brought to the women in their districts. They had to work with the material available and hence could not insist on high preliminary educational qualifications. They thought it worth their while to give girls, who had passed the Upper Primary Examinations or even those who could barely read and write, some training in treating Common diseases and injuries.

Surgeon-Major Corbyn, Civil-surgeon, Bareilly (North Western Provinces) was among the first to work out a proper scheme for giving such training. That he made provision for teaching even Urdu and English showed that no very high initial qualifications were required. Lectures were given in midwifery, anatomy, surgery and diseases of women and children.[2] Dr. Corbyn

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1. Katherine Mayo. Mother India.p.90-91(Jonathan Cape)
2. Journal of Nat. Indian Assoc. July 1875.p.157.
1st Class taught Medicine.Midwifery.Materia medica, bandaging.
2nd " " English,mat.medica,anatony,bandaging.
3rd " " English,anatomy,bandaging, Urdoo.
4th " " English and Urdoo.
5th " " Urdoo

especially compiled for them a manual in Urdoo in the latter subject. The students were taught to diagnose diseases, write prescriptions, dispense medicine and keep registers in English. They were given practical expereince in treating "fractures, dislocations and cancer of breast".[1]

Dr. O'Callaghan, Deputy Inspector General Civil Hospitals, Dr. Archer M.D, Dr. H.M. Caannon, Deputy-Surgeon General and Dr. G.H. Ray,M.D., were all "surprised and gratified" at the ability displayed by the students. They spoke in the highest terms of the skill of the pupils in treating patients. The Bishop of Calcutta and Keshub Chunder Sen visited the school and were equally impressed.[2]

The scheme was a success. The opening of the female dispensary where the students did their hospital practice doubled the number of women seeking medical aid. The Govt. recognised the usefulness of the school by appointing an Indian doctor to help with the teaching work. But financially the position was

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1. Ibid p.156.

2. Journal of National Indian Association July 1875, p. 160 -63.

unstable. The expenses were met by a rich Indian who subscribed a fair sum, but the money was not sufficient. Moreover, Dr. Corbyn was anxious that such an institution should not be dependent upon private subscription and he appealed to the Govt. with some success, to put it on a secure and permenant basis by undertaking to meet the financial requirements.[1]

Dr. Corbyn's example was followed by other doctors who imitated similar schemes. Thus Dr. J.L. Humphreys started two year courses of medical training at Bareilly, which included 'Anatomy, midwifery, pharmacy and the management of minor surgical cases... in... the more common kinds of fractures and dislocations." The first four pupils to complete the course were examined by a Board of English Physicians including the Inspector General Civil Hospitals and "answered questions with such quickness and precision" as to be "quite equal to the generality of locally trained doctors."[2]

The Civil-surgeon of Benares, too, opened a female medical training class which was largely supported out of the municipal funds. Some of the girls

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1. Ibid. p. 159.

2. Helen Montgomery, Western Women in Eastern Lands. 127.

leaving vizianagram schools were persuaded to enter the class. Most of these were under twenty-five years of age. They were given training which was more advanced than that of the generality of mid-wives, the idea being to raise them to the level of sub-assistant surgeons.[1]

Dr. Hunter of Bombay was equally successful in giving women of twenty to forty years of age similar training. The students who qualified did useful work and received quite good remuneration.[2]

The missionaries were no less alive to the needs of Indian women. As early as 1851, the Ladies Missionary Society was organised in Philadelphia with the object of sending out unmarried women doctors. Two women graduates offered their services but the American Missionary Boards were then not prepared to send single women abroad.[3] However, a little later, the missionaries realised the importance of medical work, especially when they saw that the Moslems had hardly been touched by their work in the zenanas. They thought that the medical missionary might overcome the Moslem reticence. The end of the civil war in America saw an improvement in the position of American

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1. Journal of Nat. Indian Assoc. Dec. 1875 p.273.
2. Ibid April 1876 p.112.
3. Helen Montgomery: Western Women in Eastern Lands. p.117.

women and the prejudice against unmarried female missionaries proceeding abroad abated. Dr. Clara Swain arrived in India in 1869. She was the first qualified female medical missionary to arrive in the country.[1]

She too opened medical classes. The course extended to three years. The training given seems to have been of a high order. Thirteen of the first batch of her pupils obtained creditable certificates from a Board of English examiners.[2] Dr. Clara Swain's example of combining medical relief with medical instruction was followed by many of the British and American women doctors who arrived in India in increasing numbers. These disconnected facts reflect the true state of affairs. There was no pretence of giving full and systematic training. Individual doctors evolved ad hoc schemes to bring the benefits of Western medicine to women who had not yet been reached. As it could only be done through a female agency, there was no alternative but to take the best available women and give them as thorough a training as was possible under these circumstances. For this reason initial qualifications as well as the prescribed courses varied

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1. Calcutta Review. Vo. LXXXV 1887. p.229.

2. India Office tracts 637. Miss McGrew p.39.
Helen Montgomery. Western Women in Eastern Lands p.127.

greatly. Usually the course stretched over a period of three years but there was no strict time limit. However, before these women were sent out, they were examined by a Board of three British doctors who issued certificates to them. This was as good a safeguard as was possible under the circumstances to prevent quite unsuitable persons practising western medicine.

The Govenmment, too, with the limited funds at its disposal, could do no more than bear only a part of the cost. The doctors, who initiated the work, therefore, sought financial support wherever it was to be had. They themselves, the missionaries, and the richer Indians, all co-operated in bearing the cost of training as the students were usually too poor to pay fees. Even if it be supposed that the professional efficiency attained by the pupils was not very high, the story is too remarkable to have been omitted from this thesis. It shows how resourceful individuals, entirely on their own initiative, trained Indian women to provide medical relief to their suffering sisters.

SECTION E

Midwives, Nurses and Women Doctors.

Great as was the need of India for women doctors, the dearth of suitably trained nurses was still more acutely felt. The importance of careful nursing had been demonstrated beyond doubt by the work of Florence Nightingale during the Crimean War - and doctors in India were quite conscious of the need for trained nurses. Individuals among them had tried to train a few privately even before they had started giving general medical instruction to Indian women. Nor was there any opposition from the medical colleges to train nurses even when they had refused to admit women to the medical courses. Efforts were made to link female schools with the colleges awarding professional qualifications through the attachment of nurses' classes to the latter institutions.

In 1875 a Marathic Midwife Class was opened at the Grant Medical College, Bombay. Stipends were provided for the purpose by wealthy Indians, The number of classes was soon afterwards increased to three, two being for Marathic and one for Gujerati women.[1] Dr. Hunter of Bombay also ran similar classes for training midwives who received certificates on completing the course and hospital practice.[2]

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1. Bombay Provincial Educ. Cmte Report 1884. vol. I p.55
2. E. Carpenter: Life of Mary Carpenter p.364.

Th Council of the Calcutta Medical College which had refused to admit women to its medical courses,[1] offered no objection to training 'Dais' (midwives). Eight of these passed their examination in Midwifery during the year 1880-81.[2]

At the Madras Medical College a former English "society-woman" was responsible for training nurses. She was helped by a matron who had occupied a similar teaching post at a London hospital.[3] But somewhat superior instruction was given by the Superintending Medical Officer to a class of mainly Europian and Eurasian women at Monegar Choultry.[4]

Thus the work of Florence Nightingale in England had smoothed the path of Indian women who wanted to become trained nurses. But whereas in England with a few years she had succeeded in turning nursing into a "genteel" profession, the prejudices of Indians remained unshaken. Caste formed an almost insuperable barrier. A few Indian women had taken medical courses at the Universities. Still fewer took up nursing. The nature of the work shocked high caste women.[5] And nursing in India was confined to European, Eurasian or Indian Christian women.

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1. See page 500-501
2. Report on Pub. Instruc. Bengal 1880-81. p. 91.
3. E. Carpenter: Life of Mary Carpenter p.353.
4. Ibid.
5. Journal of Nat. Indian Assoc. May 1875. p.119.

Women of the lowest castes, who were prepared to join the classes, were hardly suitable and only a few of these were accepted.

Despite these difficulties it was recognised on all sides that doctors could not give their best until they had skilled nurses to carry out their instructions. In August 1885, the National Association was founded with the triple object of giving Medical relief, Medical tuition and training nurses. The Queen agreed to be the Royal Patron and the Viceroy was chosen as Patron. It did admirable work in bringing medical relief to the women of India but it is the educational aspect of its work that concerns us here. It was largely on the iniative of this Association that the Agra Medical School (women's Branch) was founded. The Central Committee gave a grant of Rs. 10,000 to the building-fund and promised a further contribution of Rs.200 p.m. for five years "towards the maintenance of an efficient medical staff". Two women doctors, Miss Fairweather M.D. and Miss Yerbury were put in charge of instruction while a matron supervised the nurses. Forty-seven girls were admitted to the medical and nursing courses.[1]

This school was another example of the growing Cooperation between the Government, the

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1. Calcutta Review vol. LXXXV 1887 p.230.

missionaries and the Indians for all three had joined together to found it. It was also remarkable for aiming to provide of an efficient female medical and nursing service through an institution entirely staffed by women. In this respect it was unique and anticipated the foundation of the much better known later foundation. The Lady Hardinge gave more advanced instruction but the Agra Medical School was the first to give shape to the idea of a separate medical school for Indian women, and as such deserves greater appreciation than it has received.

SECTION F.

Women Teachers and Inspectoresses.

(please see next chapter)

In conclusion it might be said that an Indian girl-graduate and a University trained woman doctor, though not unknown, were still rare in 1882. Indian social conditions slowed down the pace of progress. Lack of economic incentive was another important factor which has not generally been sufficiently emphasised, because the social handicaps of Indian women have dominated the attention of most observers as being the more obvious. Its full importance can be brought out by contrast with the British Feminist Movement. The economic origins of the latter have been somewhat obscured by the sentimentality and passion that have surrounded the controversy. The need for British middle-class women to have a career was urgent; higher education was the only means to that end. Hence the agitation for higher education was largely middle class in origin. It should be noted that the sons of the aristocracy went to Oxford and Cambridge to complete their education; not so their daughters. Even when the two Universities were opened to women, apart from their homes, "Finishing Schools" in Britain and the Continent still remained the most popular places where the

daughters of the aristocracy passed the years between adolescence and womanhood; very "clever" girls, largely drawn from the upper middle-classes, went to the Universities.

Different social and economic conditions at once smoothed and retarded the progress of higher education of Indian women. Even so it was remarkable how wholeheartedly Western medicine was accepted in India. Despite serious difficulties women came in increasing numbers to be trained as doctors, midwives and nurses, though far from adequate for the needs of the country.

C H A P T E R VIII

THE PROBLEM OF FINDING WOMEN TEACHERS AND INSPECTRESSES. 1815/82.

Any system of education must rely for its success upon competent teachers. Education on western lines could only be imparted to the men and women of India by a highly trained staff. The importance of trained teachers was recognised quite early and a writer in the Calcutta Review complained that it was strange that while people would only go to a competent tailor for their clothes they should go to ignorant persons for their children's education. The same writer very pertinently observed, "A University education is supposed to give all that is necessary in the way of instruction to those who are to take charge of these schools, it being totally overlooked that the possession of knowledge and the communication of that knowledge to others are totally distinct things, and that the art of properly conducting a school is no more to be learnt by commonsense than the navigation of a vessel or the practice of anatomy." [1.] These words applied with much greater force to the education of women, and it is interesting to trace the steps that were taken to provide India with trained female teachers.

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1. Calcutta Review volume VIII, P.298-99.
See also Fraser's Magazine Vol. 37, P.413 for a similar complaint in England.

It has been shown that some of the earliest girls' schools in India were started by the wives of missionaries.[1] These women certainly possessed some elements of learning and indeed were not entirely without teaching experience. They were usually "pious" women and it is highly probable that they had taught in Sunday Schools at home before marrying and going out to India. However, their work could not have been of very great importance. The cares of the household and looking after their husbands' comforts occupied most of their time, and besides there were frequent confinements, and equally frequent deaths of their infants. It was clear that if female education was to be extended some other source must be found to supply the necessary teachers.

In these circumstances it seemed most reasonable to send out competent women from England to train school-mistresses in India.[2] The Ladies' Committee of the British and Foreign School Society collected £521.9.0d. "with the view of sending to Calcutta a lady well-qualified to train native female teachers."[3] Miss Cooke, the first woman missionary to arrive in India, was originally sent out with this object rather than to undertake the elementary work of teaching little girls. But on her arrival in India she became aware of difficulties in her way. Hindu

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1. See Chapter II.
2. Indian Female Evangelist
3. Quoted in Church Missionary Society Report 1821. P.197.

girls married early and practically all girls marry in India.[1] Widows would have provided more likely material to work on, but Pardah prevented them from undertaking such work, as teaching-practice in schools might well have brought them into contact with men. This obstacle persists up to the very end of our period, and Miss Carpenter repeats the same complaint in 1877.[2] Above all, there was as yet no nucleus of Indian women with elementary education on western lines who would be ready to receive training.

However, if no Indian women were available, it still seemed that European and Eurasian girls could be found to undergo training to take up teaching as a career. Several of the elder girls at the Asylum for Female Orphans of European parents "gave good evidence of having become truly religious... and entered with gladness of heart on the study of Bengali, in order that under Miss Cooke's instruction they may be prepared to act as teachers in the female schools".[3]

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1. Buckland A.R. Women in the Mission Field. P.20.
2. Parliamentary Papers Vol.LXIII. 1877 P.438.
3. Church Missionary Society Report 1822. P.111
   Ibid 1823. P.116.
   Also missionary records : India 429.

But these early hopes were not realised.[1] Many reasons can be given for this failure. The girls were not suitable to make the most of the education they received.[2] Moreover their education was very imperfect and stress was laid on accomplishments of a superficial kind rather than on improving their minds. Dancing occupied an unusually important place in their instruction.[3] This was justifiably so for education was regarded by them as a means of securing good husbands. This was not very difficult owing to the paucity of European women in India. If one failed to get a Civil Servant, one could always hope to capture an Army Officer. A writer in the Calcutta Review described the situation in these words, "We speak now specially of local influences in their bearing upon woman's character, and we must not forget the large number of ladies at home who are without any fixed place in Society, while here, where we seldom see an unmarried woman of five and twenty, the domestic feelings early find their

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1. B.W. Noel. Sermon on Female Education delivered in London April 28, 1836. Quoting from Mrs. Weitbrecht's letter dated Burdwan April 24, 1835.
2. Calcutta Review Vol.I P.580. A Few Sketches by J.M. Calcutta. W.H. Carey1844.
3. Bengal Miliatry Orphan Society Report.

natural sphere of action."[1]

Education, too, as yet offered small inducements as a career and indeed was more akin to missionary work, especially in the eyes of such women as could be recruited in India. They could not be expected to give up the comfortable life of the metropolis and engage in female education in out-stations without the inspiration of a missionary zeal which few of them possessed. This lack of sufficient incentive combined with their ignorance of the vernaculars and a want of genuine interest in India, prevented them from being of much service in this field.[2]

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1. Calcutta Review Vol. IV. P.106.
Mrs. Colin Mackenzie : Life in Zenana Vol.III P.173.
"But if the gentlemen of India are above the home average the ladies are certainly below it. Young men constantly make inferior marriages; and girls, after having been deprived of a mother's care half their lives, are brought out and married far too young - before their education (if they had any) is finished, or their minds formed, and before they have enjoyed what, in this present deficient system, is often the best part of a girl's training - the advantage of intercourse with really good Society. They have thus no standard of manners or taste by which to test the manners of those among whom they are thrown; they probably marry under eighteen, often under sixteen, and adopt the strangest phraseology from their husbands and their husbands' friends..... I think the wives of military men are worse in this reppect than those of civilians."

J. Wilson : Memoir of Margaret Wilson P.515.

2. F.J. Shore : Indian Affairs Vol.1. P.29.
This continued to be an obstacle. See Mary Carpenter : Six Months in India. Vol.II P.57.
John Morrison : New Ideas on India P.52.

, The Eurasians (or Indo-Britons as they styled themselves at this time) suffered under most of the disabilities mentioned above. They had never been accepted by Indian Society and had identified themselves with Europeans. They had "a proper fear of associating with the heathen" which had degenerated into a "prejudice that any contact with the natives is degrading".[1] But fairly early in the nineteenth century, Europeans began to make distinctions against them so that they came to occupy an unenviable position in the sight of both Europeans and Indians, being respected by neither.[2] They were not treated as equals even in missionary households.[3]

In short, many experienced missionaries bear witness to the extreme difficulty of finding female teachers in India.[4] Mrs. Wilson put the matter very clearly when in

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1. Priscilla Chapman : Hindu Female Education P.68.
2. Report of the House of Commons Committee, 1832, Vol.IX. P.206. Q.1631.
3. Miss Joseph : Zenana Tracts.
4. Mrs. Weitbrecht : Extract from a letter dated Burdwan Apr.28.1835.
   Rev. M. Wilkinson : " " " " " Goruckpore Apr.10.1835.
   Mrs. Wilson : " " " " " Calcutta Feb. 25.1835.
   Quoted in B.W. Noel : Sermon on Female Education. P.43.

her letter dated February 25th 1835 she stated, "All idea of training schools to send persons forth to other stations must be set aside at first, as you will have less difficulty in sending teachers from Europe than in inclining persons in this country to go any distance from home."

Hence unmarried women from England could alone undertake the education of Indian Women on western lines. But here again the difficulties were obvious. Girls' education in England had not made much headway in the first half of the nineteenth century,[1] especially that of governesses from which class most of the women teachers for India were recruited. Thackeray in his Book of Snobs may have overdrawn the pricture of the ideal accomplishments of a governess when he wrote,'"I asked this great creature in what other branches of education she instructed her pupils.' 'The modern languages', says she modestly, 'French, German, Spanish, and Italian, Latin and rudiments of Greek if desired. English, of course; the practice of elocution, Geography and Astronomy, and use of the Globes, Algebra (but only as far as quadratic equations); for a poor ignorant female, you know, Mr. Snob, cannot be expected to know everything. Ancient and Modern History no young woman can be without, and of these I make my beloved pupils perfect mistresses. Botany, Geology and Minerology I consider as amusements...."

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1. Emily Davies : Questions Relating to Women. P.71.
Elie Halevy : A History of the English People in 1815(3) P.160 for the State of General Education.
W.L. Blease : The Emancipation of English Women.

' But'adds Mr. Snob, 'I looked in one of Miss Ponto's manuscript song-books and found five faults of French in four words: and in a waggish mood asking Miss Wirt whether Dante Elgiery was so called because he was born at Algiers, received a smiling answer in the affirmative, which made me rather doubt the accuracy of Miss Wirt's knowledge."[1] Other evidence of the superficial education of these women is not wanting.[2]

In fact the qualifications asked for were so high[3] that the solution of no training at all seemed to be the easiest way out of the dilemma. In some instances, however, they were trained at a Ladies' Seminary or fashionable boarding school. The Bronté Sisters received training probably typical of many governesses. After some preliminary training at home, they went to Cowan's Bridge School, an institution for the daughters of clergymen, where they studied history, geography, the use of globes, grammar, writing, arithmetic, needlework, and housework such as getting up linen and ironing. Music and drawing were

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1. Thackeray : The Book of Snobs. Ch.XXVI.
   Mrs. Sherwood at her Academy for Young Ladies at Worcester taught English, French, Astronomy, Geography, History, Grammar, Wiriting, Ciphering and "the Learned Languages Required" for £90-£100 a year. (See E.J. Harvey Darton : Life and Times of Mrs. Sherwood P.452).
2. Lady Harriet : Wives & Daughters. Ch. VIII.
   Jameson : Memoirs & Essays. P.261.
   Fraser's Magazine : Vol. 37, P.413.
   Quoted in W.F. Neff : Victorian Working Women P.162/63.
3. R.L. Archer : Secondary Education in the XIXth Century P.242. In 1856 Miss Beale was expected to teach "Scripture, arithmetic, mathematics, Ancient to Modern History, geography, English, French, German, Latin, & Italian at the School for Clergymen's daughters." She

extras.[1] But this was one of the few institutions which provided good and cheap education and secured the praise of the Education Commission.[2]

Exceptional persons in fact or fiction usually owed their superiority to innate talents rather than to a competent educational system. Thus Thackeray wrote of Rebecca Sharp at Miss Pinkerton's School, "As she was already a musician and a good linguist, she speedily went through the little course of study which was considered necessary for ladies in those days."[3]

3.(Contd.) left after a year.

1. Gaskell : Life of Charlotte Bronte. P.38.
   A. Zimmern : Renaissance of Girls' Education in England. P.18.
   Philips & Tomkinson : English Women in Life & Letters. P.346, quotes from the School-Prospectus, "The terms for clothing, lodging, boarding, and educating are £14 a year and also £1 entrance money for the use of books &c. The system of education comprehends history, geography, the use of the globes, grammar, writing and arithmetic, all kinds of needle-work such as getting up fine linen &c. If accomplishments are required an additional charge of £3 a year is for music and drawing each."
   See also Memoirs of Margaret Wilson of Bombay for the instruction of Bayne Sisters which was probably typical of middle-class families.
2. A. Zimmern : Renaissance of Girls' Education in England. P.18.
3. Vanity Fair Chap. II.

In general their attainments were poor and the ignorance of the vernaculars was a further obstacle to their work in India even if in England they had received a moderately good education.[1]

Not only was the education of English women inadequate but both in England and India there was a strong prejudice against their undertaking work outside the home.[2] "As for women, it was held to be a misfortune for them to be obliged to work. That they should ever prefer to do so was a notion too ridiculous to be entertained and was treated with the same ridiculous scorn which greeted a woman's declared preference for a single rather than married life." It is in these forceful words that a historian of the Women's Movement in England described the situation.[3] It was the day of picturesque descriptions of foreign lands and emotional appeals on behalf of the inhabitants of those unchristian regions. But the women of England were invited not so much to aid

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1. Mrs. Weitbrecht : Female Missionaries in India P.103/4.
2. Buckland A.R. : Women in the Mission Field P.20.
   C.F. Andrews : Renaissance in India P.35.
3. Georgina Hill : Women in English Life Vol. II P.177.

as to sympathise with the down-trodden. Passive feeling was all that was suitable for "elegant women".[1]

This prejudice was equally strongly rooted in the Anglo-Indian Society. In reply to Archdeacon C.J. Hoare's enquiry as to the advisability of an unmarried mistress going out to India, Bishop Daniel Wilson of Calcutta gave a most emphatic no. He even quoted the scriptures to support his point of view. "No, the lady will not do," he said. "I object on principle, and from the experience of Indian life, to single ladies coming out to so distant a place with the almost certainty of their marrying within a month of their arrival .... I imagine the beloved Persis and Tryphena remained in their own neighbourhoods and families.[2]" He conveniently forgot to mention Phoebe. But those who favoured the idea of unmarried women missionaries were not slow to point out the omission.

They were, however, not blind to the handicaps under which single women had to labour in India. An experienced missionary acknowledged that the standard of public opinion in India was not as high as in England. There was little privacy or personal freedom for Society in India subjected every action or motive to the closest scrutiny. Usually the new arrivals had to share a house with the missionaries

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1. C.W. Cunnington : Feminine Attitudes in the XIXth Century. P.92.

2. Eugene Stock : The History of the Church Missionary Society Vol. 1. P.316.

   Bateman : Life of Daniel Wilson Vol. II P.255.

as public opinion did not favour the idea of single women living alone, an arrangement which did not always work satisfactorily. Individual lapses and failures were more widely advertised while the successes received relatively little publicity.[1] General apathy of the Indians combined with the mechanical nature of the day to day work was not calculated to help matters and could easily lead to boredom and a feeling of loneliness.[2] Mrs. Weitbrecht was fully aware of all these difficulties when she wrote that "a young woman is of all creatures in the world, the least calculated, and in the least intended to stand alone, and that particularly in a country like India."[3]

The arguments against sending unmarried women as teachers were clearly stated as early as 1824 by three Calcutta missionaries in a letter to the Directors of the London Missionary Society:[4] "On the propriety of sending out unmarried females. We do not think the measure advisable, for the following reasons.

1. "The object is quite impracticable, unless such

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1. Mrs. Weitbrecht : Female Missionaries in India. P.19.
2. Ibid : P.98, 103-4, 110.
3. Ibid P.22.
4. (L.M.S. Records : North India Bengal : Box.No.2. Folder No.1. Letter from S. Trawin, J. Hill, and F. Warden dated Calcutta Aug.31. 1824)
   See also London Missionary Society Records : Box I. Folder I, Jacket B. Letter from the Rev. R.Knill dated Madras May 20.1817, giving reasons for not sending unmarried missionaries.

persons be sent to stations already occupied by married missionaries, and it would be quite unsafe for single females to fix their residence in the midst of an idolatrous population.

2. "It is very probable that such females (after engaging in the work for a time) would change their state, as did Miss Cooke, who is now Mrs. Wilson and though this might not in all cases lead to an abandonment of the object, yet, we conceive occurrences of this nature would lead to Directors, and the public, to judge that as the schools were not superintended by unmarried females the object had in some measure failed.

3. "There are many local difficulties in the way of a single female's engaging in such an undertaking, viz. procuring ground, building schools &c.

4. "It is an opinion that at most of the Society's stations missionaries aided by their partners will be able to establish, and superintend as many female schools as the Directors would wish to support.

5. "The salary of such a female could not in most instances be less than rupees one hundred and fifty per mensum, as she would have to keep a suitable conveyance &c.

"In this statement we have not fully and formally answered every query as they stand recorded in your letter; we have however we trust said enough to enable the Directors to form a proper judgement upon the subject.

The last mentioned fact, that expenses of a European female engaged in the work would be equal to that of an unmarried missionary does in our opinion decide the question,

were the case perfectly unimcumbered with any other difficulty. For as there are no impediments in the way of missionaries establishing Girls' Schools, which do not apply to a female sent out for that purpose, it is easy to see how much the former would be preferable to the latter (at least he would be able generally to endure twice the fatigue that a female could in this sultry clime)we shall now further add that we have during the past week conversed very fully with Mrs. Wilson on all these points, and although she has been so remarkably successful both as a single lady, and as the wife of a missionary, yet she would not advise the Directors to send out unmarried females."

Marriage formed the most serious barrier to the continuance of single women as teachers in girls' schools. Probably it was because of their religious character that these women were keenly sought after by the missionaries and other pious persons so that few remained unattached within a short time of their arrival in the country. Miss Cooke became Mrs. Wilson within a few months. She still did much useful work because she did not have children and because she soon became a widow.[1] But other husbands were not so obliging. The offers to continue school-work even on marriage carried little weight for they could no longer devote their whole time and attention to the instruction of

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1. European widows, on the whole, gave the longest service. (See Appendix XII)

girls. They would be more or less in the same position as the wives of the missionaries, their work being interrupted by frequent confinements and constant cares of the household.[1]

Frequent marriages of their agents therefore considerably worried the Selection Committees in Britain.[2] They early realised that it was a waste of time and money to send out women teachers to India unless something were done to alter this state of affairs. This led to heated discussions among "the Ladies" at home, especially as the Female Education Societies were being nick-named "Batchelor's Aids". It was in the course of one of these discussions that a member indignantly exclaimed, "Marriage, ladies, after all is no apostasy." The chief trouble was that the Victorian emphasis on home and the sanctity of family life stood in direct opposition to the objects with which these Societies were formed. They realised that single women would be most useful as teachers in India but they could not directly forbid them to marry when they themselves regarded marriage and the rearing of a family as the highest duty of a woman. In short, women as workers

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1. Chapter II. P.121-22.

2. Chapter III, P.227

Occasionally a missionary also expressed mild regrets. Thus Mr. W.H. Pearce wrote on Oct. 25. 1824: "Dear Anne, My sister was a noble help to us in our school for young ladies, but you will be surprised to hear that she is married to Mr. Jonathan Carey son of Dr. Carey." (See J. Hoby : W.H. Pearce. P.407).

or teachers did not harmonise with the philosophy of the Victorians and their deification of the home.[1]

Many stringent measures were proposed to prevent the agents from marrying but in face of this mental conflict they could not be adopted until limited to insuring against immediate financial loss only. In fact they did not want to impose even a financial sanction. Thus in 1842 when a newly arrived woman teacher married a missionary of the "Assembly's Foreign Mission Committee," a member of the Scottish Ladies' Committee approached the Convener of the former with a request for compensation for the loss of services of a trained teacher. The Ladies' Committee received this curt reply, "I am honoured this morning with your note of Monday. I should fain hope that upon more full consideration the Ladies' Committee will not make the demand to which it refers. With all the respect the Committee feels for communications from that quarter, I do not see how by any possibility such a demand can be complied with. Mr. A's case is by no means a parallel one - the Committee were consulted about Mr. A's marriage. They gave their consent to it as it was less expensive and less inconvenient for the lady to go to India than for the bridegroom to come home. They paid her passage and outfit, understanding that she was to gratuitously assist in missionary work. Miss S. went out as <u>your</u> agent and remains, I presume, as your agent still.

"Mr. M. has not to this hour mentioned his marriage to this Committee. It has received no consent and no sanction of theirs and they can in no way be held

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1. W.F. Neff : Victorian Working Women, P.14.

responsible for it. Even your claim for a "premium" may be met on our part by an action for damages against you for sending out ladies so attractive as to draw off our poor missionaries from their work.

"I am afraid there is nothing for it but to pocket your present loss and make more stringent terms with your future exports. As to you recovering your money from Mr. M, that I suspect is quite out of the question. He is a worthy man and will, I hope, make the connection comfortable for Miss S, but it is a connection which in all the circumstances of the case I should never have dreamed of his forming. Believe me, respectfully and faithfully yours, Alexander Brunton."[1]

Mr. Brunton did not show a just appreciation of the difficult position in which the Ladies' Committee was placed but on the other hand the Foreign Missions Committee could hardly be expected to entertain the claim seriously. Hence the Ladies',Committee was compelled to make a rule requiring every teacher to sign a contract for five years. In the event of her marriage before the expiry of her term of service, she was required to return that portion of the passage money which remained unearned. They did not relish this measure but were compelled to enforce it to keep their finances in order, especially as they had to provide for a reserve fund of £500. to bring back those whose health failed them.[2] In addition, they appealed to the intending

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1. A. Swan : Seedtime & Harvest P.48-49.

2. Bye-law 27 of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East.

teachers to pray more fervently and to analyse their motives more carefully before proceeding abroad! They were told that only through the saving power of prayer and grace could they escape disillusionment on arrival in the country and serve God with the necessary faith and piety.

This advice does not seem to have been very effective. The agents of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East refunded £1614 in the course of the first twelve years of its existence.[1] This is further confirmed by following the record of women teachers from Britain.[2]

It is very difficult to analyse the state of mind of these women. It will be going too far to suggest that they went out to India with the deliberate intention of seeking husbands but on the other hand not many of them seem to have honoured the contract of five years' service with the Societies which was theoretically incumbent on them. The home Societies did not connive at their doing so but only accepted a situation which they could not alter. This is clear from the fact that even when the agents petitioned to be excused from returning the passage money, pleading extreme hardships, the Ladies' refused to comply with their request. The Ladies did not formally

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1. This total is compiled from the Accounts'Books of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East. (Church Missionary Society records).

2. See Appendix.xii

record their disapprobation of their agents' marriages in the Minute Books but they were obviously chagrined[1] and implored their sympathisers in India to suggest a way out.

In response to this appeal, Capt. Jameson, that "veteran of female education," proposed that "young ladies" of over thirty years of age should be sent out. Perhaps he thought that at that age their fast fading charms would fade still faster in a tropical climate and so make them less likely to marry though still in the prime of life with a considerable period of usefulness before them. Mrs. Wilson, too, desired as her assistant at the Refuge[2] a middle-aged lady with "small private-property, possessing deep fervent piety, good health, good sound plain sense". Probably, middle-age was desirable to minimise the chances of marriage, possession of property to secure that pay was not the chief consideration, whilst good health was essential for working in the Indian climate. It is also noteworthy that the possession of "commonsense" was sufficient as an educational qualification![3]

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1. London Missionary Society records Box No.8 Folder No.4 Jacket D. Letter from Rosa A. Lechler dated Salem Jan.16.1841. Replying to the Directors' criticism of her marriage.

2. Refuge was the Christian Girls' Boarding School founded by Mrs. Wilson. See Chapter II. P.130

3. B.P. Noel : Sermon on Female Education - quoting from a letter of Mrs. Wilson. London Missionary Society records : Box. No.I Folder No.I Jacket C. Letter from Rev. J. Hands dated Bellavy No.21 1824 asking for "pious females". See Appendix X. for Mrs. Weitbrecht and others' idea of an ideal female missionary.

The other proposal to deal with this problem equally came to nought. The suggestion was to send out a married couple to India to take charge of a double school, the husband taking charge of the boys and his wife that of the girls.[1] But this plan did not work. It was not easy to persuade older people of suitable character and qualifications to give of their settled life at home without even the consolation of being regarded as missionaries. On the other hand if they were not old enough, the women would suffer under the same handicaps as other married women.[2] As a result few such couples went out. But some of these did exceptionally good work, such as Mr. & Mrs. Perkins who opened the first Infant School at Calcutta.[3]

But these difficulties did not deter the "Ladies" Societies" and they persevered in securing the most suitable women that could be found. They exercised great care in choosing the candidates and did their best to equip them for their work in India. Hence a word may be said here about their method of selection.

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1. London Missionary Society Records : Box. No.5 Folder No. 2. Jacket B. Letter of Mrs. Mundy dated Chinsurah Aug. 25.1837.
   "Ladies' Association of the Church of Scotland Report 1843. P.13. Quoting letter of Dr. Wilson dated Bombay May 23. 1842.
   Ibid 1844. P.21.
2. Mrs. Weitbrecht : Female Missionaries in India 1843. P.17
3. Friend of India Feb. 25. 1836. P.61.

On receiving a request for a female teacher from India the Committee of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East first decided if there was a reasonable chance of her being useful. If the conclusion was in the affirmative and if no suitable candidate were known to be available, the post was advertised in the various Missionary periodicals and sometimes even in the daily press.[1] They also enlisted the support of anyone who was likely to be helpful in the matter. Thus they asked missionaries on lecture-tours in England to keep their eyes open for suitable candidates.[2]

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1. Missionary Record Church of Scotland 1845-46 P.124.

SCOTTISH LADIES' ASSOCIATION
FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF FEMALE
EDUCATION IN INDIA.

The Association contemplates employing, in a short time, a married teacher (not above thirty years of age) and his wife, as missionary Agents in India. Any pious person desirous of being so engaged, may communicate with the Secretary, Mr. Anderson, at the office of the schemes, 46, North Hanover Street.

The Association is desirous also of hearing of any pious unmarried Lady, not under 30 years of age, willing to be employed in Missionary Work in India.

2. Missionary Record : Church of Scotland 1845-6. P.257.

Sometimes the German and Swiss Female Education Societies were also approached. But this was not commonly done as in practice it was found embarrassing to refuse their candidates, even when, as often happened, their knowledge of English was far from satisfactory.[1]

Two questionnaires were sent to those who applied for the post. These seem to have been designed more to ascertain the orthodoxy of a candidate than the worth of her educational qualifications which appear fourteenth on the list.[2] The candidate's opinion was asked on matters on which most Protestant sects were in agreement but which would at once pick out the Roman Catholics on the one extreme and the Unitarians andthe like on the other. "The Ladies" were equally apprehensive of both. Thus they lodged a spirited protest against the 'infiltration' of High Church teaching in the Home and Colonial Society's schools and obtained immediate redress. They showed the same promptness when the existence of other "dangerous doctrines" was brought to their notice. The Minutes Book of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East,

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1. Mrs. Colin Mackenzie : Life in a Zenana Vol. III. P.135. Established Church of Scotland Ladies' Society Minutes Book April 9. 1853.
2. See Appendix X for the Questionnaire of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East.

records, "The questions to candidates having been revised, and the fact of serious errors prevalent in the present day respecting the non-eternity of punishment having been brought under the consideration of the Committee with a view to guarding against the sending out of Agents holding the same, it was resolved, 'That they will, in the oral examination sedulously seek to ascertain that the candidates hold the same scriptural views on this, and all other subjects named in question 3'".[1]

The second questionnaire was addressed to the "clergyman, minister or other individual" to verify the information submitted by the candidate and to ascertain her social position.[2]

Those, who were not rejected as being too young, having sufficient educational qualifications or for want of piety,[3] were asked to appear before a small sub-committee of two or three 'ladies' for an interview, at which one or other was selected for appointment.[4] The

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1. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Minutes Book Vol. III Mar.10 1870. Nos. 5187, 5229, 5248.
2. See appendix I Questionnaire No.2 (VI).
3. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Minutes Book Vol.I Nos.55, 142, 285, 533.
   Established Church of Scotland Ladies' Society's Report Feb. 15. 1856.
   Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Minutes Book Vol. I. No. 1046 & 1056.
4. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Records 1839. P.3.

successful applicant was at a later meeting introduced to the Committee of the whole Society which sanctioned the appointment subject to her passing a medical test of fitness.

This was rendered necessary as occasionally a candidate would try to combine the duties of a schoolmistress with the cure of some personal ailment for which the dry heat of the tropics was supposed to be very beneficial.[1] Captain Jameson wrote very strongly on the subject, "In selecting agents I fear there has not been sufficient care paid to the state of health of the candidates previous to their engagement, and no greater error can be committed than to send a lady to this country under any organic desease, with the prospect of her health being better than at home and of her becoming a useful teacher. Sometimes, it is true, disease has been mitigated and even removed by a change of climate at the proper time and under medical care and instruction, and I confess I should rejoice to see a Society formed having its object the charitable purpose of providing funds to assist the poor in obtaining what their limited circumstances will not obtain, viz. medical skill and change of climate when it is advised. But it is surely out of question that a Society of the kind with which we have to do can, in the present

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1. Female Education in India Associations : Minutes Book Edinburgh Jan. 18. 1841. (Church of Scotland Records).

Ladies' Association of the Church of Scotland. Report 1843. P.10.

state of matters entertain any such Utopian notions; and therefore all persons of whatever age and experience whose general health is not in the very best state ought at once to be rejected, whatever may be their desires or their mental capabilities for doing good."[1] Instruction of Indian girls and providing relief for invalid teachers were incompatible objects and could not be combined.

On passing the medical test, the candidate was sent to one of the training institutions, in Scotland to the Edinburgh Normal School or in England to the Home & Colonial School Society's Training College in Borough Road.[2] There she learnt the art of managing children and acquired a knowledge of school-keeping system as well as imparting instructions.[3] She benefitted much more

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1. Letter of Capt. Jameson to the Scottish Ladies' Association. Quoted in A. Swan : Seed Time & Harvest, P.53-4.

2. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Minutes Book Vo. I paras. 102-103.
Report of the Church Missionary Society Ladies' Society 1840. P.6.
Female Education in India Association : Minutes Book I.
Ladies' Association of the Church of Scotland Report 1844. P.11
Ibid 1847. P.19.

3. Home & Quarterly Educational Magazine & Record of the Home & Colonial School Society Vol.I 1848 Annual Report P.2 (Bound in British Museum Copy app. P.296) Mr. Tufnell, H.M. Inspector on the Training Establishment says, "The chief aim of the Society in training those who are sent to them, is to make them good teachers rather than accomplished ones; to instruct them in the art of managing children, and imparting knowledge, rather than to fill their minds with information. It is found

from this training than the general run of the students there, for she usually came from a higher class[1] and had already received some preliminary instruction. The majority of other students were not so fortunately placed.[2] In fact they were classed separately from others under the head of "Missionaries trained for Foreign Stations" and received privileged treatment.[3]

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3 contd. indispensably necessary to devote some portion of the time they remain in the Institution to acquiring information, yet the Society do not consider themselves responsible so much for the actual knowledge the students acquire, as for the way in which they can bring out what they know for the edification of the children. They do give a considerable amount of preliminary instruction."

1. See Appendix.XIII

2. H. Holman : English National Education P.42. Most of the other students had little general education - 88 had been unemployed, 32 had been in business, 26 in millinery, 15 in service, and 39 in teaching.
Home & Quarterly Educational Magazine & Record of the Home & Colonial School Society Vol. I. 1848 P.296.
Report of Mr. Tufnell H.M. Inspector of Education P.2.

3. Ibid P.296.
Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Minutes Book Vol. III. Para. 4218.

On receiving a favourable report of her progress at the school from the headmistress and the "Ladies' Sub-Committee"[1], the Society was ready to send her out to India as soon as suitable arrangements could be made. This was not always as easy then as it has become since. A tropical outfit and suitable furniture for the cabin during the voyage had to be bought. Separate allowances were made for these purposes. When the arrangements were completed and the date of departure fixed, a meeting was held at which an Address was delivered by a missionary or a retired Anglo-Indian giving her a few hints and wishing her success in the field. However sometimes unexpected difficulties arose and the passage had to be cancelled at the last moment. Once, for example, a suitable companion could not be found to travel with the teachers and as Victorian standards of propriety did not allow young women to travel alone on ships commanded by bachelors, the passage had to be

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1. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Minutes Book. Vol. I. para. 210.

cancelled.[1] Usually an escort was not difficult to find, the wife of a gentleman of christian sympathies or of a missionary returning to India generally obliged.

On board much of the time was passed in prayer, helping with the children, and learning Indian languages.

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1. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Records Vol. I. Minutes for Mar. 17. 1842. No.1115. "Reported that a cabin has been taken for Mrs. Willing and Miss Burton, in the Asceola, Captain Luke, for £160, but that in consequence of doubts having arisen respecting the propriety of the above-mentioned ladies going to Bombay in a vessel without other female passengers excepting a native woman, and the Captain being unmarried, a special meeting was immediately summoned, which was held at ..... After mature deliberation on the above points, it was resolved that Mr. Maynard be authorised to inform the owners of the Asceola that the Committee cannot under the circumstances allow their two agents to go in that ship unless they will delay the sailing of the vessel and succeed in obtaining other female passengers in which case the Committee will abide by the original arrangements. It being considered by this Committee that the above-mentioned native woman who is going in the Asceola, would be a sufficient protection for Mrs. Willing and Miss Burton, should she be a person of respectable character. Mrs. Read and Miss Braithwaite were requested to make enquiries concerning her, with a view of securing her services for the two agents during the voyage. These ladies having failed in eliciting any satisfactory information, it was resolved unanimously that the proceedings of the Special Committee with reference to the voyage of the two agents being delayed, the approved and confirmed. Resolved also that Mr. Maynard be requested to endeavour to obtain from the owners of the Asceola, a remission of a portion of the passage money thus forfeited. The Committee although deeply regretting what has occurred, and the

with the missionary's help if available. She was welcomed by the missionaries on landing in India and after a few days' rest she would be sent off to her station. Here she would labour under the direct supervision of the missionaries and of the corresponding Boards at the Presidency towns.[1]

In the second half of the nineteenth century the problem of finding suitable teachers was considerably eased by the greater readiness to proceed to India and a general improvement in the education of Englishwomen. This was largely due to a change in the attitude of the Victorian women.

By this time the effects of the industrial revolution in increasing wealth but excluding middle class women from industry and trade had become easily discernible. Margaretta Gregg wrote in her Diary in 1853, "A lady to be such, must be a mere lady, and nothing else.

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1 (Continued). consequent loss which the Society must sustain, yet feel that they are only acting consistently with their responsibility as directors of a christian institution, the object of which is to elevate the minds and characters of the females of the East.

1. See Female Education in India Associations : Minutes Book I. for the procedure adopted by the Scottish Ladies' Association in selecting an agent. (Church of Scotland Records).

She must not work for profit, or engage in any occupation that money can command, lest she invade the rights of the working classes, who live by their labour. Men in want of employment have pressed their way into nearly all the shopping and retail businesses that in very early years were managed in whole, or in part, by women. The conventional barrier that pronounces it ungenteel to be behind a counter, or serving the public in any mercantile capacity is greatly extended. The same in household economy. Servants must be up to their offices, which is very well; but ladies dismissed from the dairy, the confectionary, the store-room, the still-room, the poultry yard, the kitchen garden, and the orchard, have hardly yet found themselves a sphere equally useful and important in the pursuits of trade and art to which to apply their too abundant leisure."[1] Victorian ideas of "refinement " prescribed a life of idleness for women, unless stern necessity ruled otherwise. Even then they were limited to the genteel but overcrowded trades of dress-makers and milliners or to what Charlotte Bronte described as the "governessing slavery". The vigorous life of the eighteenth century business-woman stood in sharp contrast with the sheltered existence of the

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1. J.E. Butler : Memoir of John Gregg P.326. Quoted in I. Pinchbeck : Women Workers and Industrial Revolution P.315.

Victorian woman and shows how much the latter had lost in initiative and independence by being protected from all contact with life.[1] The middle-class woman thus found herself in the curiously lopsided position of a person with more leisure than means.[2]

Even though the middle-class barriers against the women's taking part in any but purely domestic activities were slow to dissolve, forces were at work which were to sweep them away. Possession of leisure awakened middle-class women to a consciousness of their own position.[3] The "pious" rich woman was no longer satisfied with exhibiting passive sympathy. She was active and would visit the homes of the poor; the habit of doing welfare work spread from the country-gentry to the towns.

For the middle-class women the necessity to seek an alternative career to marriage also demanded the immediate attention of middle-class women. Even in 1860 the chances of a girl's marrying were reckoned to be, at the age of 21, 1 in 3; at 25, 1 in 6; and at 30, 1 in 16.[4]

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1. Ibid P.315-6. See also P.8,12.
2. C.G. Hill. Women in English Life. Vol. II. P.94.
3. Ellen Key : The Woman Movement P.35.
4. Cunnington : Feminine Attitudes in the XIXth Century. P.169.
   R. Strachey : The Cause P.92. estimates that there were 876,920 surplus women in 1851.

The Times expressed the view that the increasing number of unmarried daughters in the professional classes was due to the higher standard of life and later marriage age of men.[1] Emigration to the Dominions and the employment of middle-class men in India and the Empire perhaps intensified this tendency.[2] But parents brought up in an older school of

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1. Ibid P.169 and also P.181, 182.
   Ellen Key : The Woman Movement P.35.
   W.F. Neff : Victorian Working Women P.12-13.

2. E. Wolstenholme : Woman's Work & Culture 1869.
   Schools Enquiry Commission Report 1864 - "If one looks to the enormous number of unmarried women of the middle-class, who have to earn their own bread, at the great drain of the male population of this country for the Army, for India and for the Colonies, at the expensiveness of living and the consequent lateness of marriage, it seems ... that the instruction of the girls of middle-class family, for anyone who thinks much of it, is important to the very last degree."

thought traced the evil to "the guilty and growing luxury of the age which prevents men from marrying."

This was at least partially true. During the first decade of the second half of the nineteenth century the prosperity of the middle-classes had begun to diminish as the cost of living steadily went up due partly to the growing demand for luxury, and partly to the new and expensive tastes of women who were no longer content to economise at home, and partly to the general rise of prices.[1] It was owing to this desire to maintain and improve the standard of living that a man felt his career to be "smothered by a happy marriage and a large family."[2]

That it was essential for a section of middle-class women to be self-supporting is apparent from the following advertisement:

> "A young lady wishes to procure a situation as resident governess. She undertakes to instruct in the usual branches of an English education, French, Music, Drawing, and the elements of Italian

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1. Cunnington : Feminine Attitudes in the XIXth Century. P.188.
   A. Sauerbeck : The Course of Average Prices of General Commodities in England in the XIXth Century.
2. Cunnington : Feminine Attitudes in the XIXth Century. P.169, 181, 182.
   Ellen Key : The Woman Movement P.35.
   W.F. Neff : Victorian Working Women P.12/13.

or German.

She is oneof five daughters, left by her father in straitened circumstances in consequence of the depreciation of West Indian property, he having been a Proprietor and a Member of Assembly in one of the islands.

Address: Mrs. T.T., Mr. Charbon, Stationer, Pilgrim Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne." [1]

Similar cases must have multiplied in the unstable economic conditions of the second half of the nineteenth century.[2] Growing realisation of this situation had the effect of dissolving prejudices against feminine activity outside the purely domestic sphere. James Hill and Florence Nightingale did more than anybody else to break down the barriers. A change seemed imminent though the middle-classes were hardly aware of it. The Institution for Training Nurses was founded in 1850. The efficiency with which Miss Nightingale organised the Nursing Service during the Crimean War earned for her the gratitude of the Nation and opened a respectable avenue of employment for women.

The necessity of finding employment led to an improvement in the quality of their education.[3]

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1. The Governess Advertiser Apr. 1855. P.2.
2. Cole, G.D.H. and Postgate, R. : The Common People P.348-349 (2nd ed.)
3. G. Hill : Women in English Social Life. Vol.II. P.143.

Hitherto those who could afford it preferred to employ foreign governesses for their children; because Englishwomen, though glad to obtain such posts, when thrown upon the world by the death of a parent or other untoward circumstances, were seldom properly qualified to fill them. To fulfil this need, The Governesses Benevolent Institution was founded in 1843. It was a bold venture to help them by increasing their competence and thus indirectly their earning capacity. At first an examination for a teachers' diploma was recommended but it was soon apparent that the attempt to examine the untaught was practically useless. The institution of a system of classes was deemed more useful and in 1847 the first Certificates were conferred. This institution later developed into Queen's College.[1]

Despite the improvement in their education the profession of governess was overcrowded. In 1860 the Home for Unemployed Governesses had a large number of inmates.[2] The publication of Jane Eyre which caused some sensation at once focussed public sumpathy on the subject. In these circumstances it was not surprising that more women were willing to go out to India, where the development of communications had minimized the dangers

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1. A. Zimmern : Renaissance in Girl's Education P.21-24.
2. C.W. Cunnington : Feminine Attitudes in the XIXth Century P.193.

of the voyage without necessarily detracting from its romance.[1] There was, too, the general conviction that "British ideas, British customs, British goods and British religion were immeasurably the best in the world, and that it was their moral duty to export them to less fortunate nations".[2] Besides the pay of the missionary Societies was relatively good and averaged a hundred to a hundred and fifty pounds per annum with a free house of an extra house allowance.[3] It compared favourably with the thirty to thirty-five pounds a year with free board and lodging that she would have received in England.[4] In addition the European female teachers enjoyed a higher social status in India.[5] Also the thought

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1. Calcutta Review vol.1 1844 P.3, 9.
2. C. W. Cunnington : Feminine Attitudes in the Nineteenth Century P.151.
3. Society for the Promotion of Female Education in East Account Books 1834-54. Female Education in India Association of the Church of Scotland. Minute Book June 1840. The salary of Miss Laing fixed a t £150 p.a.
4. Church Missionary Register September 1838 P.430. Advertisement in "The Governess" May 1855 P.14.
5. R. Strachey : The Cause P.97 Estimates the salary at only £15 p.a.
   The "Governess Slavery" was satirised by "Punch" in a mock advertisement, "Wanted, a young lady who has had advantages for a situation as Governess. To sleep in a room with 3 beds, for herslef, four children and a maid. To give the children their baths, dress them, and be ready for breakfast at a quarter to eight. School 9-12 and 2.30-4 with two hours music lessons in addition - to spend

of a greater possibility of marriage in India may not have been very far from the minds of some and may have induced them to venture abroad. All these factors combined gave India an increasing supply of better qualified European female teachers in the second half of the nineteenth Century.[1] Not only more of them arrived in India but probably due to the improvement in local conditions of living, there was also a greater readiness on their part to stay on in the Country. The rate of mortality for European

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5. (Continued)
the evenings doing needle-work for her mistress. To have the baby on her knee while teaching and to put all the children to bed. Salary £10 p.a. and to pay her own washing."

1. Dr. A. Duff : Foreign Missions 1866 P.21. wrote: "Another thing has struck me since my return, which which is this that there is more willingness - let me say to their credit - on the part ofeducated ladies of Scotland to go forth to the mission field than on the part of educated young gentlemen." Also Ibid. P.7.
Eugene Stock : The History of the Church Missionary Society Vol.111 P.704-5 (there were thirty-nine C.M.S female Missionaries abroad in the first half of the nineteenth century and four hundred and forty-six in the second half)
A. R. Buckland : Women in the Mission Field P.13.
M. Cowan : The Education of the women of India P.45 (Eight new British and AmericanWomen's Societies entered India between 1860-70)

women was lower than that of men.[1] The widows of British missionaries thus sometimes continued to labour in India after the death of their husbands. Individually they, and not the unmarried British women or Indian widows, gave the longest and the most faithful service even though in the long run the latters contribution was perhaps more important.[2]

Indian Women Teachers.

It has been shown that the first attempt to train female teachers in India ended in failure and the idea was dropped for the time being in favour of getting European women from Britain.[3] But it was not forgotten that ultimately women teachers must be found in India. Adam, who was appointed by the Government to enquire into the State of Education in Bengal, took the matter up in the Report he submitted to the Government in 1838. He noted the low state of female education in India and recommended to the Government the application of a plan for its improvement. He suggested that the Government should prepare four text books with detailed instructions as to how the information contained in them was to be imparted to others. These

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1. Calcutta Review vol. xxxll P.167, 170-71.

2. See Appendix.XII
E. Stock The History of the C.M.S vol. 11 P.172
Vol.111 P367.

3. See P.536

would be lent to the best pupils in the girl's Day and Boarding Schools. When they had finished studying one Book, a "Female Examiner" could be sent toexamine them for they would be averse to appearing at Public examinations. If this were not possible then the heads of the families could be asked to give certificates as to the success of the candidate's teaching. On passing the examination they would be awarded the Book they had studied from and given the next Book on the same conditions. Adam hereby sought to secure four classes of vernacular teachers. He also recommended the publication of the names of the successful Candidates in the Government Gazette and the grant of certificates signed by members of the Comittee of Public Instruction showing the standard attained. If these inducements failed to attract suitable women to take up teaching their rewards could be increased.[1]

The Government published the Report but shelved its recommendations, at least in so far as training female teachers was concerned. Although nothing was done then the framers of the 1858-59 Grants-in-aid Rules might have had them in mind. These rules required every teacher to pass an examination and

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1. W. Adam : Third Report on the State of Educa tion in Bengal 1838 P. 227-8.

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obtain a certificate before becoming eligible for the Government grant.[1] The rules, however were not rigidly applied to female teachers; in the Madras Presidency alone a techinical examination to secure suitable female teachers was instituted.[2]

But that is to anticipate the story. Historically it is interesting to note that the first Indian Women to qualify as teachers received their training in England and not in India. This happened quite accidentally. Missionaries and other Europeans

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1. S. Sattheanadhan : History of Education in the Madras Presidency P. 264 .
2. Selections from the Records of the Government of India Home Department Vol.LIV Appendix P.XIV-XX Monteath's Note on Education in 1865-66. In Madras three grades of certificates for the school-mistresses were established. First two grades included English, History, Tamil, Telgu, Atithmatic, Geography and needlework as subjects for study. English and History were dropped from the course of the third grade.
   Maximum Government grants-in-aid were fixed as following:
   Grade I - not more than the amount paid by Managers
   Grade 2 - restricted to a maximum of 25 rupees p.m.
   Grade 3 - " " " " 10 " "
   Only British Women were appointed to grade 1.

going back to England, Sometimes took an Indian nurse or Ayah to look after their children on the voyage.[1] On arrival in England the children were probably sent to a boarding school and her services were no longer required. If no one could be found needing her services on the way back to India, there was little else for her to do. As she must have picked up a smattering of English while in the service of her British masters, the latter thought it best to send her to one of the institutions for training school-mistresses. As these were in the main run by the Church Missionary Society, little difficulty seems to have been experienced in securing her admission. Mrs. Weitbrecht in her "Memoir of Rabee" gives a detailed account of such a woman.

Rabee was one of the thirty little girls collected during the floods of 1834 when she was only six years old Her father vegetable vendor and both her parents were consumptive. In December 1841 she was taken to Europe as the nurse of Mrs. Weitbrecht's young son. On arrival in London she was sent to the Home and Colonial Instituition for training teachers in Gray's Inn Road. The Society for Promoting Female Education in the East undertook to support her there, no doubt on the recommendation of Mrs. Weitbrecht who was quite

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1. Captain Williamson : East India Vade Mecum vol.1 P. P. 336.

well known as a Missionary. Rabee made satisfactory progress and soon became a favourite there. "She was not naturally quick at learning, but the earnestness with which she desired to be useful to her country people on her return to India, in some measure made up for her slowness, and the grateful affection she shewed to her teachers with her subsequent efficiency was a recompense for her trouble".

This quotation clearly shows that even though her heart may have been sound, she hardly possessed the gifts of the head to be able to profit by such training. This problem of finding suitable students to undergo normal school instruction continued to trouble the initiators of the system.

In 1844 Rabee returned to India, and with Mrs. Weitbrecht's assistance, opened an Infant's School which, according to the testimony of Mr. Reynolds, "was as good as the one in Gray's Inn Road."[X] She married an Indian Christian, Philip, one of the masters in the missionary English School. But from 1846 onwards her health began to decline and she died in 1848. Her period of short usefulness is characteristic. Many of the Indian girls who were pioneers in the sphere of western education seemed

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[X] Mrs. Weitbrecht : Memoirs of Rabee. P.12.

to have suffered an early death and somehow it seems that the strain on their constitution was too great.

Rabee was not the only one who was trained in this way. Mention is also made of another Indian girl, Jane Taylor, who was at the same institution. As they have Christian names, it is not possible to tell from the Register of the Colonial Society their Country of origin. There were probably a few others, but taken in all, they were neither sufficiently numerous or remarkable to have made a significant Contribution to the cause of female education. It is, however, interesting to note that historically Pandita Rama Bai and other Indian women students who followed her to learn this art of teaching in England were not the first to do so though their superior quality has assigned to them that position in the eyes of most. They had been preceded by much humbler women who, even if inferior in general intelligence and education, nevertheless made great efforts to prepare themselves for the task of teaching Indian girls.

However, it was obvious that India's growing needs could not be satisfied by Women teachers trained in England alone. True that first efforts to train female

teachers in India had failed but by 1840 conditions were already different from those of 1820. Stable Christian communities had sprung up in certain areas as a result of mass-conversions. Thus in Tinnevelly in the South, the Christian Community was too numerous to be effectively taught by the missionaries, their wives and a few women imported from England for the purpose. As there was no normal school the needs of such communities were met by employing girls from Orphan Homes and other Christian Boarding Schools.

But they were not always particularly interested in teaching nor were they the best of those available. Besides they were untrained. The Church Missionary Society at Madras seems to have had the problem in mind when Miss Giberne offered "to carry out their design of forming a normal school for village-school-mistresses in the Christian District of Tinnevelly". The Committee accepted the offer and sanctioned her removal from Colombo.[1] She embarked upon the study of Tamil and opened her school in 1844.

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1. C.M.S. Ladies' Society. 1844. P.5.
S.P.F.E. in the East Minutes Book Vol.1. 16th Nov.1843. No.1298.
Zenana for March 1901. P.73. Article by Eugene Stock.

She chose "the most clever and best behaved" pupils from Rev. J. Devasagayam's schools for training as teachers. A little later a 'kind friend' made a present of a suitable building to which she removed the School.[1] The Day Schools and the Infant School which were used as practising-schools were both quite separate from the Normal School.[11] Later she was joined by another Englishwoman who took charge of the former and Miss Giberne was left to concentrate all her attention on the Normal School.[111] The number of girls in the Normal School increased to thirty and it was only the lack of funds which prevented its further expansion.[1V] They were all taught in Tamil and attained a fair standard in the ability to teach. The Rev. J. Thomas, who examined "eight young women from fourteen to eighteen years of age", was satisfied with their fluency in reading and their ability to demonstrate effectively to the children through the Pictorial method.[V] The school supplied a

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1. Miss Giberne's Letter to a friend in England, noted in G.Pettit Tinnevelly Missions P.398.

11. Church Missionary Register Aug. 1848. P.352.

111. Church Missionary Register Oct. 1850. P.424.

1V. Church Missionary Register Aug. 1848. P.352.

V. Rev. J. Thomas: Letter dated Dec. 11th 1946: C.M.Register Aug. 1847. P.348.

crying need and was soon established on a firm foundation. No sooner did the pupils leave than others were ready to take their places.[1] The School continued to prosper after the retirement of its first head,[11] and formed a very efficient auxiliary in promoting girls' education in Tinnevelly.[111]

This account, pieced together from various sources, shows this little known institution to have been the first purely Female Normal School in India. It had most all essential features of such an institution. The age of the students varied from fourteen to eighteen. They were carefully selected and had received some education before entering on their training. They received instruction in object lessons and were given teaching-practice in junior Schools which were separate from the Normal School itself. The Institution was in charge of a trained European Mistress who was also well-acquainted with the venaculars. The origins of this school again go to prove the point that is made at several places in this thesis - that spontaneous activity had already produced institutions in answer to the existing needs before more carefully planned and better known foundations came into existence.

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1. C.M.Register Oct. Nov. 1848.

11. C.M.S. Ladies' Society Report 1848. P.4.

111. G.Pettitt : Tinnevelly Missions P.399.

This Tinnevelly Normal School was an earlier foundation than the Female Normal School at Calcutta, established in 1852, though this latter is generally supposed to have been the first school of its kind in India.[1] But even though the latter was not the earliest Female Normal School, the part it played in the education of Indian Women gives it a more important position. Its origins are rather obscure but a certain continuity may be traced. It has already been noted that Miss Cooke arrived in India to train women teachers and not to do elementary work in Girls' day Schools.[11] The Church Missionary Society placed its schools in Calcutta under Miss Cooke (now Mrs. Wilson) and a Ladies' Committee, with the proviso "that in case of any circumstances arising which may make it necessary to the Committee to discontinue their labours, the Management of the Institution shall revert to the C.M's" (Para 1X) [111] This applied to the buildings of the Central School in which Mrs. Wilson took possession with her boarders in 1828. These Schools made good progress under the management of the "Ladies' Committee" and Mrs. Wilson. Meanwhile the advance in Men's education was

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1. Bengal Missionary Conference 1855. P.151.
Calcutta Review, Vol. XXlV. P.9.

11. See Ch. 8. P.581-2.

111. Quoted in Indian Female Evangelist Vol.111. P.242.
from printed Report of Calcutta Female Normal, Central and Branch Schools, Jan. 1859.

increasing the demand for educated women. Hence one of the more active members of the Ladies' Committee, Mrs. J.J. Mackenzie, suggested founding a Female Normal School, in the first instance, for Women of the East Indian Community. The School would provide Governesses for European and wealthy Indian families and qualified teachers for girls' schools. She proposed the amalgamation of the Central and the Normal Schools and the appointment of a highly qualified woman to superintend both. The Central School was to serve as a Practising School.

However, it was decided to keep the Central School distinct and Mrs. Mackenzie began to raise money for a "Normal School for Christian Female Teachers English and Native". The appeal was issued on a broad basis: "But impressed with the magnitude of the blessings this new scheme is likely to confer, the Committee rely confidently on the readiness of their European friends, and also on the patriotic feelings of the Native Gentry to help in such a cause; and as the benefits promised by a Normal School, although situated in Calcutta, are intended to apply equally to all parts of India, and are not simply meant for local purposes, the Committee appeal to the liberality and zeal of all Parties throughout the Country to support the proposed institution". Herein

perhaps lay its Chief importance. Though admission was confined to followers of the Church of England, the appeal was made to Europeans and Indians, Christians and non-Christians alike.

It met with a generous response both in England and in India. The Society for promoting Female Education in the East appointed a Special Sub-Committee of three women with the particular object of promoting "the cause of this School in Concert with other ladies". They helped to select the first Superintendent of the School.[1] They also met the Normal School Committee in London and established friendly mutual relations. At the same time they gave donations to the School funds.[11] Later even the Government of India made a grant of £160 per mensem towards the expense of the institution.[111].

The School was actually established in 1851 under the patronage of the Bishop and the Archdeacon of Calcutta, and a corresponding Committee in London was formed to supervise it.[1V] The course was to extend

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1. S.P.F.E. Records Feb.12th 1852. Vol.11. No.2145.
   S.P.F.E. Annual Report 1855. P.5.

11. S.P.F.E. Records. Vol.11. Nos.2154, 2974, 3866.
    S.P.F.E. Annual Report 1855. P.5.

111. Bengal Provincial Committee Report P.110.

1V. Indian Female Normal School of Instruction Socity.15th Report. P.6-11.
    Indian Female Normal School of Instruction Society Papers Presented to Queen Victoria (Private & Confidential) P.9. (Also Zenana March 1901.P.74.)

to three years.[1] It embraced "Holy Scriptures, Bengali, Arithmatic, Grammar, History (Ancient Indian and English), Geography, Drawing and Singing with the addition of fancy work on account of its used in the Zenanas".[11] It depended mainly on Public Subscriptions for support although fees were collected from the students.[111] The School flourished. The demand for trained teachers was so great that the first class was not examined as a whole but individually by two missionaries and the most advanced candidates who had made good progress were given Certificates.[1V]

The fortunes of the school fluctuated during the Mutiny, which left it and other Schools in none too strong a position. The Central School experienced difficulties in raising funds and the Ladies Committee in Calcutta proposed to sell its buildings. It was pointed out to them that they had no right to do so under the terms of the original contract and that the property was to return to the Church Missionary Society in the event of their inability to carry on the School. Faced with this

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1. Indian Female Normal School of Instruction Society, 15th Report. P.9.

11. Ibid. Papers presented to Queen Victoria. P.6.

111. Calcutta Review Vol.24. P.9. Also Calcutta Normal School: An Appeal 1858 (See Brit. Mus.)

1V. Indian Female Normal School of Instruction Society, 11th Report. P.4.

situation, they gladly agreed to the original proposal of Mrs. Mackenzie to amalgamate the Central and the Normal Schools. This arrangement benefited both; the Normal School thus acquired a Practising-School while the Central School received the more efficient superintendence of the staff of the former. Above all, it resulted in considerable economy and the financial position of both improved greatly.[1] That it did very useful work cannot be denied. According to the Appeal issued for collecting funds, "The Calcutta Normal School is now a complete establishment formed on the model of similar institutions in England, and it is, according to the testimony of the newly arrived ladies, 'quite equal to the best that we have at home in efficiency'."[11] Some pupils at least were doing very varied and useful work.[111]

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1. Indian Female Normal School & Instruction Society. 15th Report, p.9.
   Indian Female Evangelist. Vol.III, p.244.

11. Calcutta Female Normal School: Appeal for 1858. Pp.11-12

111. 11th Report Indian Female Normal School & Instruction Society, p.4.
   Miss Gomes: Gives instruction in 3 zenanas and reads scriptures in native hospitals.
   Miss Falkiner: Teacher at Free Church of Scotland native orphanage.
   Miss Hubard: Assistant teacher, Free Church of Scotland native orphanage.
   Miss Barry: Teacher in General Assembly's Orphanage and in zenanas.
   Miss Holt: Teacher in Native Training School.
   Miss Marshall: " " " " " and givds instruction in zenanas.
   Miss A. Cummins: Gives instruction in zenanas.
   Miss D. Rozario: " " " "

In 1860 the London Committee proposed to extend the work to the whole of India. On paper the Calcutta Female Normal School was founded on all-India basis but, with the poor communications of the period, it was not likely to attract students from other Provinces. The needs of each province could only be supplied by opening similar institutions locally. This involved a change in the relative positions of the Calcutta and London Committees. The Ladies' Committee in Calcutta, presided over by Lady Lawrence, agreed to recognised the London Committee as the parent organisation which assumed the name of the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society. A Corresponding Secretary was appointed at each of the Presidencies with a local Ladies' Committee supervising his work. The Home Committee exercised general supervision over the entire Indian field.[1]

Besides this structural reorganisation there was another important change. Although admission to the Calcutta schools was confined to the Church of England candidates, no such restriction was to apply to later foundations. It was right for the Missionary Societies to carry on denominational work, but in the management of schools in India (excluding theological seminaries for the Native Ministry) denominational difficulties were deemed irrelevant. Teachers trained by one Society were frequently employed by others and in general they all used the same text-books. Hence though the Society was mainly organised

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1. Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society. 16th Report, p.6. Zenana, March 1901, p.74. (contd.)

by the zeal of the members of the Church of England, the latter welcomed the cooperation of other "Protestant Societies" for the establishment of new Normal Schools. Clause 4 defined the principles of the Indian Female Normal School & Instruction Society as "Catholic and not denominational"[1]. Even though the Normal School work remained confined for some time to Calcutta[2], this new rule did not by any means remain a dead letter. The Society cooperated with the American Presbyterian Mission in establishing girls' schools at Lahore and Amritsar.[3] It accepted Non-conformist women for its work in India. It used missionaries of other societies to supervise the work of its agents. On the other hand the various missionary societies often employed students trained at the Calcutta Normal School.[4]

(contd.) Eugene Stock: History of the Church Missionary Society, Vol.III, p.258.

The Connection with the C.M.S. was intimate. C.M.S. secretaries at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were appointed as local secretaries.

1. Indian Female Normal School & Instruction Society. 16th Report, p.6. Indian Female Evangelist, Vol.III, p.245.

2. Ibid. p. 244. Indian Female Normal School & Instruction Society. 15th Report, p.9.

3. Indian Female Evangelist, Vol.III, p.245.

4. Ibid. p.245-246.

As the work of the Society expanded in India[1], it became too laborious for the local secretaries alone to undertake it and in 1876 the Rev. T. Barry of Calcutta proposed the establishment of corresponding committees of the Church ofEngland gentlemen to assist them. The proposal was approved by the two sister Presidencies and was submitted to the Home Commitee in 1877. The latter, however, suggested an interdenominational committee of both missionaries and laymen. The Secretaries replied that this would complicate matters and threatened to resign if a mixed committee was forced on them. Thereupon the London Committee dropped the measure altogether.[2] Soon afterwards an association called the Pall Mall Auxiliary was formed and issued an appeal for funds under the joint signatures of Churchmen and Non-conformists alike.[3]

The more zealous members of the Church ofEngland felt differently and the majority of these broke away from the parent society in 1880 to form the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society. There was no rivalry or ill-

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1. A.H. Lash: Blossoms and Fruit of Missionary Work, p.126.
2. Indian Female Evangelist, Vol.III, p.247.
3. Ibid.

feeling and they divided up the work in India quite amicably, the Normal School continuing on the old basis[1]. The School did not suffer in any way and the Inspectors never failed to commend it on the excellence of its work.[2] In 1882 more than half the teachers that it had sent out since 1857 were still actively engaged in teaching.[3]. Special attention may here be drawn to two outstanding features of this Normal School. It is noteworthy that the school was founded on an all-India basis although in practice this only represented wishful thinking on the part of its founders. It supplied only Calcutta and its vicinity with trained teachers. But the interdenominational cooperation that it had secured was real and all the more striking particularly as admission was restricted to those who belonged to the Church of England.

The history of "the Sarah Tucker School for Training Schoolmistresses" runs onvery similar lines. It was founded at Palamcottah in 1859 by the Church Missionary Society as a memorial to one of its important workers. It had a bad beginning. The woman in charge died and her missionary husband resigned, leaving the school to the superintendence of the mistress of the Infants School.

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1. Eugene Stock: History of the Church Missionary Society, Vol.III, p.250.
The Zenana, March 1901, p.76.

2. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report 1884, p.110.

3. Ibid.

She also left after a few years and the school had to be closed temporarily.

In 1867 Mr. and Mrs. Lash were appointed joint-superintendents,[1] and the following year the school opened with forty pupils. The Palamcottah Girls' School was used as the practising school and the general course of instruction followed the pattern of similar institutions in England and Scotland. The school made good progress and in 1869 all the ten candidates passed the Government Certificate Examination and the total number of pupils increased to sixty. Each young woman was fed and clothed for the small sum of £4 a year; and as the Government contributed £2 for every scholar and the girls paid a fee of £1, the expense to the Society was trifling.[2] But the difficulty of finding suitable employment for qualified teachers again presented itself. Quite a large proportion of younger girls attended boys' schools; and the marriage of trained teachers limited the possible areas of employment and often prevented them from being sent where they were most wanted.

The solution adopted was a bold one. It was planned to open new schools in answer to the question of "How shall we find work for our trained schoolmistresses?". There was ample scope for new schools, as it was found that out of ten thousand pupils in the Church Missionary Society's Schools, only two thousand two hundred were girls. Mr. Lash personally

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1. Eugene Stock: History of the Church Missionary Society, Vol.II, p.525-526.

2. A.H. Lash: Blossoms & Fruits of Missionary Work, p.17.

toured various districts to enlist the support of individual missionaries and the C.M.S. Committee sanctioned his project. As most of these schoolmistresses married mission agents, those spots were selected for opening new schools where a married couple could be placed with the greatest advantage. During 1871 eleven such schools were successfully opened, which shows the great change that had taken place in public opinion on the matter of girls' education. Mr. Lash gave up the idea of converting the higher castes but maintained the schools as educational institutions, although still continuing to regard education as an auxiliary to conversion in the case of the lower castes. It was planned to open new schools every year to provide for the output of qualified teachers from the Normal School. This plan worked very well. The existence of a class of trained teachers led to the foundation of new schools and these in turn led to the spread of female education and consequently to a greater demand for trained teachers.[1] It worked as a sort of self-regulating system and the Director of Public Instruction paid it a just tribute when he wrote that "under Mr. Lash's care it rose to its present high state of efficiency, and I see no reason to apprehend any decline in consequence of his departure. One of the most satisfactory features in regard to this institution is its economical working,

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1. Indian Female Evangelist, Vol.I., p.125-130.
Eugene Stock: The History of the C.M.S. p.525-6.

another the superior character and class of girls educated, and lastly that the supply of teachers being produced answers to a certain and fairly ascertained local demand."[1].

The history of these missionary institutions presents two remarkable features. It has been seen that the idea of an Indian Female Normal School originated with the arrival of Miss Cooke but it was too premature to materialise.[2] It was only the growth of a stable Christian community and the extension of zenana teaching that brought such an institution within the sphere of practical possibility. The Christian mass movements in the South and in Krishnaggur area of Bengal gave the missionaries large congregations whose needs could not be supplied by European men and women alone. It was in Madras that such a compact Christian community grew up first[3] and hence the earliest Normal School was founded there, arriving out of the direct need of the people. In Calcutta the growth of zenana work and the desire to reach the women of the upper class provided an additional incentive. IN Bombay these factors did not operate on a sufficient scale and no missionary institution of this kind was founded there.

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1. Report on Public Instruction, Madras, 1880-81, p.223.
   Ibid, 1881-82, p.175.
   Church Missionary Intelligences, November 1893.
2. See p.531-2.
3. J. Mullens: Results of Missionary Labour, p.31.
   E. Whitehead: The English Church in India, p.101.

Normal Classes attached to the girls' school sufficed for the purpose.

The other striking feature was that in each of these cases it was the Church Missionary Society which first attempted this pioneering work. This can be explained on several grounds. The Church of England, within which the C.M.S. was formed, was responsible for the management of most of the state-aided women's training colleges in England, and therefore displayed a special preoccupation with the problem of training female teachers[1]. The C.M.S. could naturally draw upon the experience of persons engaged in this field of work more readily than any dissenting missionary society. A prominent educationist in the Church had himself helped to select Miss Cooke to go out to India to train female teachers.[2] For the same reason it was also easier for the C.M.S. to secure admission for its candidates to the training colleges in England.

Perhaps another factor was still more important. Normal Schools required complicated and specialised work needing much greater resources than the rather elementary work of the girls' day schools. The C.M.S. was in the most advantageous position to secure the cooperation of other missionary societies and that of the government officials. From the beginning it had kept its work in connection with female education practically independent

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1. Parliamentary Papers, 1861. Vol.XXI, Part I, p.643.
2. Report of the British & Foreign School Society, 1820,p.51.

of its missionary labours. That is why, the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East, which was the Church of England's counterpart of the Female Education Societies of the other churches, received the cooperation of other sectarian societies which sought its help and advice on important matters.[1] In India, too, the Ladies' Committees at the Presidency Towns, which managed the girls' schools of the C.M.S., were purely educational in function. The government officials could therefore countenance and support their activity without violating their pledge of religious neutrality[2]. It was easier for the missionary societies in general to cooperate with such quasi-independent Church of England bodies than with each other; also the sympathy of the higher officials was all the more readily forthcoming as the majority of them belonged to the Church of England.

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1. See Chapter III, p.250-252.

2. Eugene Stock: History of the Church Missionary Society, Vol.II, p.398. It was probably for this reason that the C.M.S. consistently refused to take a more direct share in the educational activities of the Society for Promoting Female Education in India or to send out women teachers under its own auspices.

The success of the Calcutta Female Normal School and the increasing demand for trained women teachers drew the attention of government officials to this subject. If the Despatch of 1854 pledging the Government's "frank and cordial support" to female education had any meaning, it was clear that it should take a more active interest in the matter. Mr. Martin, one of the inspectors of the schools, reported that the chief obstacle to the further spread of girls' education was the lack of qualified women teachers. He went further and enquired into the possibility of training Indian women as teachers and found that "such women were to be had". Accordingly he addressed a note to the Director of Public Instruction but the latter expressed his doubts on "the possibility of inducing native girls of good character and respectable parentage" to take up teaching. Thereupon Mr. Martin made more definite enquiries and found that a class of women known as Byragnees (feminine of virag, meaning 'deatched' from the world) was in existence.[1] These

1. They were the followers of Chaitanya who was born in 1485, that is two years after Luther, in Navadip, a town situated on the sacred Ganges 17 miles north of Calcutta. The death of his father mde a deep impression on him and he underwent a conversion. He became "God intoxicated" and an adherent of the cult of Bhakti to Krishna. In 1509 he decided to quit the world and become a Sannyasi. He wandered all over India returning to Baya in 1534 where he died soon afterwards. In one of his fits of ecstasy he thought he saw on the waves of the blue sea his beloved Krishna, disporting with the Gopis. He entered the water and was drowned in the attempt to reach his Lord.

could generally read and write and mixed in the world more freely than the generality of Indian women. They were unhampered by the customs of pardah and caste and occupied a peculiar and isolated position in Hindu society. They were, however, of two distinct kinds. Some were descended from Byraginees and had taken their vows of purity and chastity while still very young and almost inva riably before marriage. These "were as well behaved as the majority of poor people." The other class consisted of those who took the vows and renounced the world because the world had in consequence of some supposed mis conduct renounced them. Unlike the former, they had no fixed abode and wandered from district to district. But like Sannyasis they were respected by all ranks of Hindu society, particularly by the rich merchant class.

(contd.) The movement tha t he set afoot was a genuine religious revival and his teachings won moral and spiritual victory. During his lifetime hundreds of men and women from all classes of society were reclaimed from the life of sin, particularly the despised Bhikkus and Bhikkunis of the decadent Buddhism of the time. They disregarded caste and laid special stress on humility. After Chaitanya's death the movement gave rise to great literary activity. But the emotional method on which it depended did not produce abiding results and its followers began to degenerate. Even today in the poetry of Tagore their influence can be traced. However, caste proved too strong and the Chaitanyaites, in the end, themselves became another sect.

See Calcutta Review, 1919, p.37-55.

Clearly this class promised fair to become successful teachers. It was not handicapped by the observance either of caste of or pardah and yet, unlike the Christian converts, was respected by the Hindu society. They were already engaged in teaching women and children in Dacca and its vicinity, were "sought after anxiously" even though the education they imparted was not of very high quality. If they could be induced to undergo training to improve their attainments, their usefulness in zenana work would be much enhanced as they were freely admitted into Hindu homes.

On further enquiry twenty-seven such women of good character were found willing to enter a Female Normal School on a stipend of four rupees a month with the prospect of its being raised to five thereafter. Even if half of this number were unwilling to enter or were refused admission, there would still be enough to start a school at Dacca.

On the receipt of this information the Director of Public Instruction sanctioned the establishment of this institution for a year and it was opened on 11th May, 1863 with sixteen pupils, chosen from a large number of applicants.[1] High hopes were entertained and quality

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1. Report on Public Instruction. Bengal. 1863-4, App.A,p.86.

A mistress at	Rs.	25	p.m.
10 stipends of Rs. 3 each		30	p.m.
House rent	Rs.	15	p.m.
Books etc.	Rs.	5	p.m.
Total		75	p.m.

rather than quantity was aimed at for the class which was to employ them would not "be satisfied with mistresses indifferently educated." Hence noone was to be "allowed to leave the school who does not know sufficient to enable her to improve herself, and also that at the very beginning the school should not get the name ofs sending out inferior teachers." [1]

A fairly comprehensive course of study was prescribed.[2]

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1. Report on Public Instruction. Bengal. 1863-4. Appendix A. p.89-90.

2. Ibid. App. A. p.88.

Literature - Charupat Part I & II.

Composition - A short essay and each pupil to submit a diary of her work every Monday.

Dictation - From the book they study.

Grammar - Sundee Beakrun Probesh.

Arithmetic - Four simple and three compound rules. Mental arithmetic and tables.

History - History of Bengal, Part II.

Geography - Asia with special reference to India.

Needlework.

At the end of the year the Inspector confidently reported that "I do not hesitate to state tha t I consider the school has been a great success."[1]. But in view of their meagre preliminary education an additional year's work at the school was deemed desirable.[2]. Sanction was also asked for doubling the grant given by the Government so tha t wo more teachers could be employed to enable the mistress to supervise needlework. Her salary was also to be increased. This was accepted by the Government on 23rd June, 1864.[3]. The Bangla Bazar Girls' School was

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1. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal. 1863-64. App.A,p.89.
2. Ibid. p.90. Ibid 1864-65. Appendix A, p.157.
3. Ibid. 1863-64. App.A, p.90.

	Per Month	Per Annum
Mistress (Ind uding House rent)	Rs. 40	Rs. 480
Pandit (Bengali)	30	360
Guru Mahashay until mistress available	10	120
5 Stipends, Rs.4 each	20	240
8 " Rs.3 "	24	288
8 " Rs.2 "	16	192
Contingencies	10	120
Total	Rs. 150	Rs.1800

converted into a model school where the intending teachers learned the practical art of teaching.[1] The school continued with varying fortunes until 1871 when it was closed down with the brief epitaph that "a class does not exist and cannot at present be called into existence out of which the admitted want of trained teachers can be supplied."[2]

The causes of its failure are not far to seek and it would indeed have been surprising if the experiment had succeeded. It seems that the Inspector of Schools, though enthusiastic and well-meaning, did not give sufficient serious thought to the subject and was generally too optimistic. The social position of the Byraginees was probably over-estimated and Adam, while acknowledging the fact that literacy among them was more common than in the generality of women, assigned to them no such position of distinction in Society. On the contrary he believed that they ranked "precisely the lowest in point of general morality, and especially in respect of the virtue of their women."[3] Inspector Martin, while praising them as a class was at the same time forced to ask for a reduction in the value of stipends,

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1. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal. 1864-5, App.A,p.157.
2. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report, 1884,p.111.
3. Adam: Second Report on the State of Education in Bengal, 1836. District of Rajshahi, p.66-67.

Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report, 1884, p.111.

for he could not obtain ten women of good character and satisfactory preliminary qualifications to enter the school.[1.] Their ages ranged from 23 to 50 years with an average of 34. They had all been married though six of them were widows while the husbands of 11 were alive.[2.] These facts hardly justified the Inspector's optimism and indeed later he confessed to having been "too sanguine"[3.]

Apart from the unsuitability of the candidates the cost of training was necessarily high as the school was small, yet it was not possible to obtain a suitable person even at 40 rupees a month to take charge of it. Certainly no European woman would have taken the post on that salary whilst it was hardly likely that a qualified Indian woman would be available. In fact the remark which Inspector Grimley made that the school could only succeed if greatly enlarged and its management transferred to a school-mistress[4.] would seem to suggest that it might even have been under male supervision. If so, it would further explain the reluctance of respectable women to seek admission.

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1. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal. 1863-4. App.A. p.87.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid, 1864-5, App.A.p.155.
4. Ibid, 1870-71, App.A. p.169.

Moreover the promoters of the school did not take the necessary measures to secure suitable posts for those who qualified. Though many enquiries were made for zenana teachers,[1] the first four girls who qualified received appointments worth only from seven to ten rupees a month. This low pay was hardly calculated to attract better educated women to the institution, while work of an inferior kind would equally well be done by Pandits and at only half the salary demanded by such trained mistresses.[2]

Thus this novel experiment was a failure. It might have had a better chance of success if some of the obvious drawbacks had been recognised. Its chief

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1. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal. 1863-4, App.A, p.90. Ibid, 1873-4. On page 68 Mr. Hopkins, Inspector of Schools, Burdwan Division, complains that the novelty of female schools would attract many girls to them, but lack of suitable teachers was the chief handicap. On p.70 Mr. Bhudeb Mukerjee, Inspector of Schools Rajshahi Division, knew of three or four students from Chandra Nath Female Normal School, well-qualified to take charge of zenana teaching or girls' schools, but "as yet no opportunities have offered of employing them."
2. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal, 1867-8, App.A.p101-2.

value lay in pointing to the reforming sects within Indian religions as a possible source of supply of Indian women teachers.

After this setback the Government was naturally unwilling to try again and was inclined to await a change in public opinion. But the visit of Miss Mary Carpenter induced the Government to take the initiative again. Her reputation and standing with the British and withe the Indians of the highest class, including the Secretary of State for India, her neutral position in religion and her open mind, overcame defects of temperament and inspired general confidence.[1.] She first came to India to pick out suitable Indian women to be trained as teachers in England. A short stay in the country convinced her of the impracticability of her scheme and she abandoned it.[2.]

In search of an alternative scheme, she travelled widely in India, meeting various people. She had the support of the Government with whom her influence was considerable.[3.] She submitted a Report of her findings

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1. See Chapter V, p.402.

2. E. Carpenter: Life of Mary Carpenter, p.256-7. Quotes the letter from Mary Carpenter to Mrs. Herbert Thomas dated Bombay, October 22, 1866.

3. Ibid. p.253 and 275.

and recommendations on the state of female education in India to Sir Stafford Northcote, the Secretary of State. In her opinion there was no fear that the Indians would regard the establishment ofFemale Normal Schools as an undue interference with their Customs.[1] She went further and declared that "the present condition of female education in India can be improved solely by the introduction of female teachers, and these can be supplied only by the establishment of Female Normal Training Schools."[2]

The leading features of her scheme may be briefly indicated. The Normal School was to be based on the principle of strict religious neutrality. Since it was to be a boarding school, separate arrangements were to be made for Hindu and Christian girls so that the orthodoxy of the former was not violated. The Lady Superintendent and the Training Mistress were to live on the premises and suitable accommodation was to be provided for all of them. The Lady Superintendent was

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1. Parliamentary Papers. Vol.LXIII, 1877, p.437. Letter from Mary Carpenter to Rt.Hon. Sir Stafford Northcote, dated Bristol, December 8, 1867.

2. Ibid.

to be the general head of the household and responsible for all the administrative duties. The Training Mistress was to be an English certificated teacher, vested with the entire responsibility of teaching the students. These two were to be recruited from England at a salary of Rs.200 and Rs.150 per mensem respectively with free board and lodging. Their passage was also to be paid for under certain conditions.

Admission to the institution was restricted to those who could satisfy the Lady Superintendent as to their respectability and fitness to be trained as teachers. Some preliminary education was an additional recommendation for admission.

The course of instruction was to be the same as in similar institutions in England with the proviso that the European students had to learn vernaculars while the Indians had to learn English. On the termination of the course of instruction, the successful candidates were to receive a certificate of qualification from the Lady Superintendent signed by the Government Inspector of Schools. By this means Miss Carpenter hoped to avoid the evils of examinations, at the same time associating the Government with her project.[1.]

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1. Mary Carpenter: Parliamentary Papers, 1877. Vol.LXIII, p.436-438.

Calcutta Review, Vol.129, p.259.

In this scheme an effort was thus made to avoid the pitfalls that had wrecked the previous Government venture. The pay of the Lady Superintendent and the Training Mistress was fixed sufficiently high to attract qualified women from England. Admission was restricted to pupils chosen after careful selection. Even the concession of making separate arrangements for the boarding of orthodox pupils was granted to attract high-caste girls. Miss Carpenter also insisted on the Government's guaranteeing suitable remuneration to qualified teachers and rendering the position of school-mistresses more honourable.[1.]

The Government received the Report favourably and made a grant of Rs.12,000 per annum to each of the Presidencies for five years for the establishment of Female Normal Schools.[2.]

Soon afterwards Government Female Normal Schools were established in various parts of India. In Bengal a Normal Class was added to the Bethune School instead of founding an entirely new institution.[3.] But the

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(British Museum page nos.)

1. Parliamentary Papers. Vol.LXIII, 1877. P.437, p.9.
   Mary Carpenter: Six Months in India, Vol.II, p.161.
2. Selections from the Records of the Government of India Home Department, Vol.LXXVI, p.210.
   Director of Public Instruction Report, Bombay, 1867-8, p.46.
3. Ibid, p.48.

experiment was not a success. Some heat had been generated in discussing the expediency of the measure and the more conservative Indians argued for the superiority of zenana over school instruction.[1] The refusal of the Lady Superintendent to conduct the school on a non-religious basis had alienated Indian feeling.[2] Further, Keshub Chander Sen's Normal School, founded in 1870, drew away some of the pupils that might have gone to the Government School.[3] There were no admissions for two years and the Normal Class was closed in 1872 by the orders of Sir George Campbell after a precarious existence of four years.[4]

Thus the Government's effort was not a success, but Miss Carpenter's visit had awakened Bengalees to the need for providing trained women teachers. In

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1. Mary Carpenter: Six Months in India, Vol.I, p.213-214.
   S.C. Mitra: Life of Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar.
   Ch.XXIII, p.463-466.
2. Ibid.
3. Report on Public Instruction Bengal, 1870-71, App.A,p.278.
4. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report, 1884, p.111.
   Parliamentary Papers, Vol.LXIII, 1877, p.440.
   Journal ofNational Indian Association, Nov.1876,p.336.

response to her appeal the Kumar of Nattore subscribed Rs.120 per mensem and Chandra Nath Nattore Female Normal School, Rampur Baulea, was opened in 1868. It was maintained by this subscription for a couple of years until in 1870 the Government added a grant in aid of Rs.250 per mensem.[1] A well-qualified European woman was appointed as its Superintendent. The students were mainly widows of respectable families and were chosen with great care by the Deputy Inspectors with the aid of local opinion.[2] During 1874-75 three qualified teachers were sent out and they received good appointments.[3] But there still remained "the difficulty of finding a constant supply of women, fitted by position, intelligence and character to become the pupils of the training school." It was no easier to find suitable employment for them when trained.[4] In the ten years 1868-77, the number of qualified teachers sent out was only eight, while the expenditure

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1. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report 1884, p.112, para. 366.
   Report on Public Instruction, Bengal, 1867-68, p.48.
2. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report, 1884, p.113.
3. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal, 1874-75 (Inspector Mukerjee's Report, p.95)
4. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report, 1884, p.113.

in the school amounted to Rs.30,000.[1] The Inspector noted the excessive cost of Rs.238 per annum per pupil to the Government. Students and teachers were both irregular and there was no periodic examination to keep them up to the mark.[2] Possibly these defects could have been remedied, but in 1878 the promoter withdrew his grant and the school was then closed.[3]

A similar institution was established in 1870 by Keshub Chandra Sen, the Brahmo reformist leader under the superintendence ofMrs. Wince. The Government gave it a yearly grant of 2,000 rupees on the condition that an equal sum was provided from private resources. But the institution developed into an adult school for Brahmo girls and married women. As it did not fulfil the function of a Training School the Government discontinued the grant in 1878-79.[4]

Thus in Bengal the efforts of the Government and the Indians to train women teachers failed, leaving the missionary normal schools alone at work.[5]

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1. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report, 1884,p.113.
2. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal, 1876-77,p.78.
3. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report, 1884,p.113.
4. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal, 1878-79, p.83.
5. Parliamentary Papers, Vol.LXIII, 1877, p.440.
   Journal ofNational Indian Association, July 1876, p.204.

Madras tells a very similar tale. Miss Carpenter's visit led to the establishment of a Female Normal School. Indian feeling was changing rapidly in the matter of girls' education. But the exuberance shown on the occasion was more a result of temporary excitement than a genuine change of attitude.[1]

The Government of India originally desired the proposed Female Normal School to take the form of a private institution maintained by the Hindu Community and supported by a liberal grant from the State. But on representations being made to the effect that to secure any reasonable chance of success the school must be a Government one, the Viceroy agreed to grant it the sum of Rs.2,000 per annum for five years as an experimental measure.[2] The total number of students was limited to fifteen and the Hindu Community was required to provide stipends for nine girls. The question arose whether the school should be open to all classes and sects or to high-caste Hindu women only. The Government favoured the former view but the Hindu Community had their way and entry was restricted to high caste girls. A small permanent Committee of

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1. Director of Public Instruction, Madras, Report. 1872-73, p.84, Para. 119.
   Ibid. 1875-76, p.255.
2. Ibid. 1870-71, p.55.

Indian gentlemen was appointed to assist the Director of Public Instruction in guaranteeing the money for the stipends and above all to secure suitable pupils for admission to the School.[1] The course of training was to stretch over four years and stipends to the value of Rs.15 to Rs.25 per mensem were awarded to the candidates. A woman, recommended by Miss Carpenter, was appointed Superintendent of the school as well as the Inspectress of Girls' Day Schools in Madras. This was to link the Female Normal School with other girls' schools serving as practising schools.[2]

This Normal School maintained a precarious existence for a few years only. Extreme difficulty was experienced in obtaining suitable assistant teachers and a male teacher had to be employed.[3] Indian pupils of the right type were not easily to be found and it seemed to the Director that the institution was not fulfilling its function and had better be closed. But the Governor agreed with the Principal and instead of abolishing it altogether he opened the School "to female students of all classes and sects."[4] It was completely reorganised

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1. Moral and Material Progress of India, 1870-71, p.53.
2. Director of Public Instruction, Madras Report, 1868-69, p.56-57.
3. Ibid. 1870-71, p.55.
4. Quoted from G.O. dated 14th July, 1868, in Director of Public Instruction Madras Report, 1873-74, p.80.

and was in future to consist of "sixteen caste Hindus, eight Tamils and eight Telugus; eight Native Christians, four Tamils and four Telugus; six East Indians or Europeans; ... of good character and respectable social standing, their ages lying between 14 and 25 years."[1] The value of scholarships was lowered. A small Practising School teaching English, Tamil and Telugu was also started.

It could hardly have flourished on this basis. Most of the Indians stopped their subscriptions and the cost of the School to the Government was thus considerably increased.[2] Gradually the institution largely became a High School for East Indians and Europeans and up to 1881 had only educated sixty Hindu and Indian Christian teachers.[3]

Nevertheless the Teachers' Certificate Examination[4] retained its popularity[5] and by 1874 was so much sought after that the Education Department issued an order requiring candidates to give an undertaking to pursue teaching as a career. The Education Department wanted

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1. Director of Public Instruction Madras Report, 1873-74, p.82.
2. Ibid.
3. Madras Provincial Education Committee Report, 1881, p.53, 135
4. See Ch.VIII, p.569
5. Director of Public Instruction Madras Report, 1862-63, p.51.

to prevent it from being used as an index of achievement, but this order caused real hardship on Girls' Day Schools.[1] However, the examination continued to be used for both purposes and the Education Commission itself recommended the adoption of this system to other Provinces as well.[2]

In the Bombay Presidency alone Miss Carpenter's visit seems to have produced not only "temporary excitement" but, despite partial failure, made an abiding impression. It is unnecessary to describe the initial stages. Normal Schools modelled on Miss Carpenter's ideas were established but with certain differences. In Calcutta, as has been shown, no separate Normal School was founded owing to the controversy aroused on the subject of zenana versus school education and a solitary Normal Class was attached to the Bethune School. In Madras, only one Normal School was founded, restricted to high-caste Hindu girls, chosen in equal numbers from Tamil and Telugu speaking parts. In Bombay, however, it was deemed more desirable to split up the grant of Rs.12,000 p.a. into two, and to establish a Normal School in Bombay with Gujerati as the vernacular and another in the Marathi speaking district of Poona.

The Bombay Normal School seems to have met with ill-luck from the beginning, and was an unqualified failure.[3]

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1. Free Church of Scotland Ladies' Society Report, 1874, p.19.
2. Indian Education Commission Report, 1884, p.547 and 549. Recommendation No.19.
3. For an account of Bombay Normal School, see A.Howell: Education in British India, p.163.
   Bombay Director of Instruction Report, 1870-71, p.88.

Its first head, a Miss Richmond, was frequently absent owing to short illnesses. She rather obstinately refused to accept the offer of a Parsi gentleman to use his girls' school as a practising school on his conditions. The Indian Advisory Committee displayed complete indifference to its success.[1] The school could not be carried on and was closed on the death of the headmistress.[2] Its pupils were transferred to the Alexandra Institution.[3] They were irregular in attendance and did not make much progress in the vernacular. They were not prepared to leave Bombay and as there was only one Government vernacular school on the Island, they could not be attached as assistants to Gujerati schools.[4] As the private schools refused to employ them[5], this class was also closed.[6]

In strong contrast to this, the Female Normal School at Poona was a great success. It received an endowment of Rs.26,000 as a gift from private donors, the municipality promised to pay the rent of the building,[7] and it also received half of the total Government grant of Rs.1,000 p.m. for the Presidency. It was lucky to

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1. Director of Public Instruction Bombay Report, 1871-72. App.A, p.82.
2. Director of Public Instruction Bombay Report, 1871-72, p.42. Also App.A, p.3.
3. Ibid, p.64.
4. Ibid, 1873-74, p.97.
5. Ibid, App. D, p.10.
6. Ibid. Director's Report, p.97.
7. A. Howell: Education in British India, p.163.

obtain the services of a Mrs. Mitchell as headmistress. She was the widow of a missionary and had previously been teaching in girls' schools for some years in the locality. Unlike most people connected with the missions, she accepted and practised most loyally the principle of strict religious neutrality. Her previous residence in the district, her experience of girls' education, her knowledge of Marathi and a genuine sympathy with Indians were advantages combined by few European women in India.

She knew the conditions under which she had to work and did not pitch her aims too high. The object of the school was modestly stated by her to be "to qualify young women to teach the subjects included in the vernacular standards.... To do this they must learn a little more than the standards contain, and of course instruction in the art of teaching must hold an important place in the school course." Two standards were aimed at. Those with smaller ability were to be trained to teach only the three Lower Vernacular Standards and their training stopped at that; only the more intelligent ones were to be trained to teach all the Six Standards. Though the course extended to four years, the teaching of English was reserved only for the brightest pupils. Otherwise the medium of instruction was Marathi, though in 1880 Hindustani was also introduced for Moslem pupils. She also realised the difficulty of running a Normal School unless it were fed by efficient Model Schools. Hence in the beginning she admitted the best students, and even some

of these had to be taught the three R's.[1] But later on she selected them after a careful enquiry into their social position and gave preference to those who had previously attended a practising school.[2] It was probably chiefly owing to this that the school maintained a respectable position in the locality. The large majority of the girls were high-caste Hindus, even Brahmins, though a Moslem and a Jewess were also on the rolls.[3] It was only in 1878 that the attainment of the Third Vernacular Standard was made the Entrance Standard.[4]

The success of the Institution can be put down to various causes. Mrs. Mitchell was a very competent woman herself and was lucky in having equally competent assistants.[5] A very thorough training was given at the school.[6] She kept in intimate touch with her pupils and was careful to send them at first to schools in Poona under her own

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1. Bombay Provincial Education Committee Report, p.383.
2. Director of Public Instruction Bombay, Report, 1873-74. App. D., p.11.
3. Ibid, 1872-73, App. A, p.31.
   Bombay Provincial Education Committee Report, p.383.
4. Ibid.
5. Director of Public Instruction Bombay, Report, 1878-79, p.70.
6. Ibid, 1881-82, p.81.
   The wife of W. Baxter, Esq., M.P. wrote: "The work would be creditable in an English school."

supervision before allowing them to accept new posts elsewhere.[1] Also she saw to it that the qualified teachers secured suitable positions. This was rendered easier by the fact that the Director of Public Instruction was willing to send the wives of school-masters to the Poona Normal School with the promise of appointment to the Girls' Vernacular School later in the same village where her husband was posted as a school-master.[2] Besides the demand was much greater than the supply as the Native States in the area were continually asking for such qualified mistresses.[3] The promise of a good position after the strenuous training of four years could not but have acted as an additional incentive conducive to a healthy interest in the work.

Moreover, Mrs. Mitchell seems to have possessed a special knack of securing the cooperation and sympathies of all those who came in contact with her. She was on very good terms with the Brahmin headmaster of the Male Normal School who helped her generally and particularly in the selection of candidates.[4] She succeeded in forming a Committee of Indian gentlemen to promote girls' education. She induced them to call a large meeting of

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1. Bombay Provincial Education Committee Report, p.383.
2. Director of Public Instruction Bombay, Report, 1869-70, p.108.
3. Ibid, 1874-75, p.88.
4. Ibid.

Indian ladies, wives of Deccan Sirdars and others, at the Annual Prize Distribution in the Town Hall. Only five European women were present and the meeting was addressed by two Indian ladies. The Chairman of the Committee promised to give lectures regularly on Natural Science which greatly benefited the Normal School Pupils.[1] Her relations with the Education Department were equally cordial and its Reports regularly testify to the excellent work done at the School.[2] Her tact and personality combined with a greater desire for girls' education in Poona largely contributed to the success of the Normal School.

The failure of the Bombay Female Normal School had left the need for trained mistresses in Gujerati vernacular schools unsatisfied. The Mahaluxmi Female Training College, Ahmedabad, was founded to meet this situation. It received a gift of Rs.10,000 from a rich Indian who called the institution after his daughter.[3] As the Normal School at Bombay had failed, the promoters of this institution were more careful and sought to attract the wives of school-masters.

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1. Director of Public Instruction Bombay, Report, 1879-80, p.66
2. Ibid, 1874-75, p.101; 1876-77, p.83; 1877-78, p.60-61; 1878-79, p.71; 1879-80, p.66; 1880-81, p.71. Parliamentary Papers, Vol.LXIII, 1877, p.440.
3. Journal of National Indian Association, Oct.1875, p.231. Director of Public Instruction Bombay, Report, 1872-3, p.65.

The Director of Public Instruction in his Report clearly stated his objects thus: "My chief aim is to get the wives of masters, assistants or Normal scholars, or at all events married women, in order to get rid, as much as possible, of the grave responsibility of guarding a number of unprotected females."[1.]

The plan of training the wives of school-masters and widows seems to have met with appreciable success. The school drew its pupils from all classes and won the confidence of the Indian community so that there was always a fair proportion of widows among them.[2.] It was also lucky in obtaining the services of a very able and tactful Lady Superintendent. It was very favourably spoken of by the Director of Public Instruction[3] who aknowledged the important contribution that the institution made in supplying the outlying districts with trained mistresses.[4.]

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1. Director of Public Instruction Bombay Report, 1874-75, p.101.
2. Indian Education Commission Report, 1884, p.539.
3. Bombay Provincial Education Committee Report, 1884, Vol.II, p.330.
   Director of Public Instruction Report Bombay, 1875-75, p.88; 1878-79, p.72; 1879-80, p.62; 1880-81, p.72; 1881-82, p.83.
4. Ibid, 1877-78, p.60.

Even though opinion was divided on the subject of the suitability of married women as teachers,[1] the record of the Poona and Ahmedabad Schools showed that they did useful work in this field.[2] No doubt there were formidable difficulties. There was the problem of securing posts for husband and wife in the same place. Also if the wife was more successful as a teacher than her husband, it led to jealousy and a deterioration of their domestic relations.[3] However, this was rare and the main difficulty lay in inducing married women to undertake teaching. The Education Commission recommended the trial of this experiment on a much larger scale.[4]

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1. Director of Public Instruction Report Bombay, 1877-8, p.60. Mrs. Mitchell thought unmarried women teachers gave better service.

2. Bombay Provincial Education Committee Report, p.386. The following statement is compiled from the table of teachers qualifying from Poona Female Normal School:

Widows	Married	Single
11	19	4
2 resigned	3 died and 1 resigned	1 died

3. Bombay Provincial Education Committee Report, 1884. Vol.II. p.330.

4. Indian Education Commission Report, 1884. p.539; p.549, Recommendation No.21.
Bengal Provincial Committee Report, 1884. p.112-113.
Bombay " " " 1884. Vol.II. Memorials, p.86.

Similar schools were also established in Hyderabad (Sind), Lucknow, Nagpur and Jubbulpore.[1] Of these, the last one alone was in any degree successful and is particularly interesting as the pupils were mainly the wives of the students of the Male Normal School.[2] At other places there is little evidence of careful planning on the part of the promoters of the schools and little sustained effort seems to have been made to ensure success. On the appearance of the least signs of weakness and initial failure, the schools seem to have been closed only to be opened in a different area. The needs of local communities or the popularity of girls' education in a district does not appear to have been sufficiently considered. Temporary enthusiasm of the promoters seems to have played a more important part. Perhaps that is why the Education Commission found that curiously enough the proportion of Normal School pupils to total number of scholars was the highest in those Provinces where girls' education had made the least progress.[3]

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1. A. Howell: Education in British India, p.166.
   E. Carpenter: Life of Mary Carpenter, p.344.
   Director of Public Instruction Report, Bombay, 1872-3, p.64.
2. Indian Education Commission Report, 1884. p.539.
3. Ibid, p.530.

	Madras	Bombay	Bengal	N.W.P. & Oudh	Panjab
Normal School Pupils	157	73	41	89	138
Total Scholars	34,885	26,693	41,308	8,794	9,315

N.B. Table compiled by adding the pupils in Primary, Seconday & Mixed schools in each of the 5 Provinces.

The Government andAided Female Normal Schools (other than missionary)were thus on the whole a failure except in the Bombay Presidency where they succeeded in attracting pupils other than Indian Christians or Eurasians.[1] The greatest single factor responsible for this failure was the inability of Miss Carpenter and the Government to realise the extent of the religious prejudices of the people. Missionary education had been suspect and the fear of conversion operated more fully in the case of women who in any case were not forced to earn their living. Though the Government and Miss Carpenter were sincere in their protestations of religious neutrality, a mere declaration was not enough to ward off the fears of the Indians. These were reinforced when mistakes were made in the selection of Lady Superintendents, some of whom refused to abide by the principle of religious neutrality.[2] In any case, a household ofEnglishwomen freshfrom England and unacquainted with Indian sentiments and habits were hardly fitted to undertake the guardianship of high-caste girls who required the most delicate handling. Some of them were evenignorant of the vernaculars. There was no just appreciation of the difficulties involved in bringing upper-class girls to boarding schools, especially in a country where the

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1. Croft Education Report, 1886. p.74,76,78.
2. See above, p.602.
3. Bombay Provincial Education Committee Report, 1884. Vol.II. Memorials, p.87.

seclusion of women was an article offaith with the higher castes. Nor were all the practical difficulties in boarding girls of different castes under the same roof fully envisaged. The Indian advisory committees associated with the schools were not always unanimous in their opinions. They sometimes felt a sense of frustration as they had no share in the actual management of the schools. Their advice did not always receive due consideration and in this connection it is interesting to note that thetwo most successful schools displayed the closest cooperation between the advisory committees and the Superintendents.[1.]

Some other criticisms may also be made. These schools should have been made as attractive as possible. Agreeable sites should have been chosen , instead of the busy streets of commercial cities. The schools should have been larger establishments embracing all the departments of an ordinary school and a training school to give the widest experience. Larger numbers would not only have spared intending teachers a sense of isolation but would have given them a sense of living in a purposeful community. In addition this would have considerably reduced the cost of training per head, which was as high as Rs.433.10as.10p. a year in Bombay.[2.] The Director of Public Instruction

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1. Indian Education Commission Report, 1882. p.539-40.
2. Report on Public Instruction Bombay, 1870-71. App.A, p.80.

Bombay Presidency summed up these defects when he wrote: "In site, in scale, and in organisation, I consider that a radical change is needed before the school is adapted to its proper functions."[1].

But above all, if these schools were to succeed there should have been greater coordination between supply and demand. Strange as it may seem, this fact did not strike any of the Directors and is not noted in any of the Reports on Public Instruction. As soon as a candidate qualified, a suitable and attractive post should have been found for her. If she was left waiting she was bound to feel disappointed and this would deter other candidates from joining the institution. Even though there was in general a considerable shortage of female teachers,[2]. in practice qualified candidates were often either not offered suitable posts or refused to accept them.[3]. This deplorable situation could easily have been remedied by preparing a register of some sort and by adopting measures to encourage qualified women to take up posts away from their homes. This could only be done by first disarming the prejudices of the people and by taking care not to excite the jealousy of the school-masters, for it must be remembered that even as late as 1882 the vast majority

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1. Report on Public Instruction Bombay, 1869-70. p.107.
2. Indian Education Commission Report, 1884. p.538.
3. A. Howell: Education in British India, p.166. Also p.597

of teachers in girls' schools were elderly men. When the female teacher went to supersede the superannuated incapable man, she naturally aroused his hostility and that of his youthful assistant whose masculine dignity did not permit him to continue under a woman. The Lady Superintendent of the Ahmedabad School got over the difficulty by sending the qualified mistresses only to those villages where the support of leading residents had been obtained in advance.[1] This was rarely done by others, though the advantages were obvious.

A much more serious criticism questions the wisdom of establishing several Government Normal Schools. Clearly the officers of the Government were not willing to support these schools very actively, nor were the Education Departments ready to incorporate them in any systematic drive for the general advancement of girls' education. Little was done to improve the emoluments of the teachers which would have rendered the profession attractive, nor were any special measures adopted to deal with the situation arising out of the peculiar social customs of the country, which kept women away from teaching. It is questionable if in these circumstances better results would not have been obtained by attaching Normal Classes to the best girls'

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1. Indian Education Commission Report, 1884. p.540.

schools and gradually allowing separate Normal Schools to grow from them. This would have avoided much of the undue publicity that the scheme received, as failure was more likely to follow when the subject became controversial.[1] At the same time, financially they could have been much less of a burden.

Even if Female Normal Schools were regarded as essential, probably much better results could have been obtained by establishing only one for the whole of India. The internal communications of the country were sufficiently developed by this time to permit this and the financial resources thus made available would have permitted the foundation of the school on a much bigger scale, and the best available teachers could have been imported from England to take charge. The rest of the arrangements could have been left as envisaged in Miss Carpenter's scheme, with the modification that, in the first instance, the Normal School should have sought to attract mainly the products of European and Eurasian schools in India, with the provision to admit suitable Indian women when they were forthcoming. Each contributing Province would have been allotted a suitable quota of students. As the school could recruit its pupils from the whole of India, it would have attracted them in sufficient numbers to give ample opportunities for broader social intercourse

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1. See: p.602

lacking in the existing institutions. Coming from different Provinces but speaking the same language, English, these European andEurasian pupils would have exchanged much valuable experience, and during their residence at the Normal School they might even have acquired a sense of vocation. If care were taken to give them a thorough grounding in the vernaculars of their respective Provinces, English could have been retained as the medium of instruction. This would have facilitated the task of the European women teachers fresh from England, without impairing their usefulness. The students could thus be taught in English the latest educational methods and techniques of school-management as practised in England, without handicapping their later application owing to an ignorance of the vernaculars.

When considered duly competent and qualified after undergoing thorough practical training, they would have returned to their Provinces to take charge of Female Normal Schools or Classes for training village school-mistresses, established at first in those districts where girls' education had already made some headway. These "District Female Normal Schools" should be carefully distinguished from similar institutions that were actually established and which have been described earlier. There would have been several of these in a Province, one almost in each

district, instead of the Normal Schools that were established in the important towns only. These would have been much less ambitious institutions, purpoting to attract only the "poor but respectable" classes. Pupils would have been more readily forthcoming as in this case they would not have had to leave their homes, being trained and employed almost on the spot. Indeed, as long as the village school-mistress remained badly paid, this was the only way in which they could be induced to join the Normal School to supplement their incomes.

Nor would this scheme have been any more expensive as these District Normal Schools would have cost must less. Indian-born European and Eurasian women trained at the Indian Female Normal School mentioned above could be paid salaries which would attract them to take charge of these schools, but at a rate considerably lower than that asked by a female teacher from England. In addition, the cost of bringing a woman from England, which was considerable in those days would also have been saved.[1] In this way

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1. Blossoms and Fruits of Missionary Work, p.10. "The European Missionary, whether male or female, is a very costly commodity. When we consider the difficulty of selecting in this country agents who will work well in a country so altogether different, the expense of preparing such agents for their work, the outlay unavoidably connected with travelling to and settling in a far distant land, the delay occasioned by the necessity of acquiring fluency in a new and difficult language, the frequent failures from sickness and other causes, it becomes painfully evident that the employment of Europeans, however wisely and carefully managed, must involve very considerable outlay."

something could have been done to improve the condition of the poorer European and Eurasian women in India, at the same time removing one of the chief obstacles to the training of women teachers - the necessity of their undergoing training and taking up posts away from their homes. It is a pity that European and Eurasian girls' schools in India were not, under a carefully worked out plan, linked in some such manner with a scheme for promoting the education of Indian girls.

The establishment of aided and Government Female Normal Schools was, however, not the only tangible result of Miss Carpenter's visit.[1] It has already been mentioned that she first visited India with the object of bringing Indian women to England to be trained as teachers, but she had to abandon this idea in the light of her Indian experience.[2] She took it up again ten years later and consulted the Director of Public Instruction Madras on the expediency of sending two young women to England to study the system of teaching pursued in English schools. He informed her that an Indian Christian and an East Indian woman willing to do so could be found. But nothing came of it as the Government refused to finance the idea.[3] Undaunted by this failure, Miss Carpenter incorporated it

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1. Mary Carpenter: Report on Feminine Education in India: Parliamentary Papers 1877, Vol.LXIII, p.440.
2. See p.598
3. Director of Public Instruction Report Madras, 1876-77,p.127.

in her Report on Female Education in India presented to the Secretary of State. In addition she promised that she and her friends would undertake the supervision of such students during their stay in England.[1] A year later Miss Rajagopaul, an Assistant Mistress, was sent on study-leave to England. She was placed under the care of Miss Manning, Honorary Secretary of the National Indian Association, and high hopes were entertained of her.[2] We are, however, not informed as to who financed her, the Government, the National Indian Association, or both. Be that as it may, despite the interval between them, Miss Rajagopaul was the direct successor of Rabee[3] and her humbler sisters. Indian women trained abroad were to play an increasingly important part in promoting girls' education, gradully superseding Englishwomen who had gone out to India as teachers. But this was the day of small beginnings and by the end of our period only a few Indian women, the best-known among them being Pandita Rama Bai,[4] were training as teachers abroad.

It was hardly likely that they would ever become very numerous. While it was useful that some of them must go abroad for more advanced training, the majority of Indian women teachers had to be recruited and trained in India.

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1. Parliamentary Papers, 1877, Vol.LXIII, p.445.
   E. Carpenter: Life of Mary Carpenter, p.368.
2. Director of Public Instruction Madras Report,1878-9,p.162.
3. See p.569-72
4. See Appendix XIII

Thus by 1882 the three main channels for providing female teachers for India had all been explored. No doubt qualified British women still went out to India and Indian women arrived in England in increasing numbers for further education. But it became clear that the bulk of female teachers must necessarily be trained in India. Though the Normal Schools had not come up to public expectation, the results were sufficiently encouraging to call for renewed efforts. The Education Commission made certain recommendations to improve matters. They suggested the extension of the stipendiary pupil-teacher system to encourage women to take up teaching as a career. They invited the local Governments to establish additional Normal Schools or classes and to give more liberal aid to those under private management. They proposed to encourage the teachers to prepare girls for the Teachers' Certificate Examinations by offering them special rewards.[1] They endorsed the suggestion to employ young European and Eurasian women in increasing numbers and recommended the grant of special facilities to them to acquire a knowledge of the vernaculars.[2] They

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1. Hunter Education Commission Report, 1884.p.549.

2. Ibid.
   Also Bengal Provincial Committee Report, 1884.
   Evidence of Mrs. De Niceville, p.264.
   " " Miss A.M. Hoare, p.281.
   " " Mrs. K.S. MacDonald, p.326.
   G. Smith: Progress of Christianity with reference to Female Education.

recommendations show that the Commission realised that girls' education could only be sustained and extended by women teachers trained in India. Their hopes were not unjustified and the subsequent period witnessed some improvement in the quality and numbers of women teachers turned out by the Indian Female Normal Schools. But the problem of attracting Indian women to the teaching profession could not be solved without far-reaching social changes which would induce them to take up careers outside the home.

Section B.

The Development of Inspection 1815 - 1882

The need for finding suitable female personnel for inspecting the work of girls' education was no less pressing and even more difficult to satisfy than the task of finding women teachers. Even if for different reasons, the missionaries, the Indians and the Government all agreed that inspectoresses were essential for the progress of girls' education. The missionaries, especially the early ones, had to employ non-Christian men and women as teachers in their girls' schools. They did not trust them and suspected that unless every vigilance were exercised, the teachers might be undoing their proselytising work while their backs were turned. Mrs. Wilson's complaint in 1825 was typical of the contemporary missionaries: "I generally find the teachers were inattentive to their work, and have not more than two or three whose word I can believe. Notwithstanding all the checks that are employed, it seems next to impossible to keep them actively engaged among the children during the hours they are in the School."[1]

The Indians, as has been noted earlier, were generally averse to having their daughters educated in the new-fangled schools. Even when they consented to their being taught, they insisted on the observance of their Social Code. Their girls might be taught by useless Superannuated School-masters but they must not be exposed to the gaze of energetic inspectors who tried to improve them.

The Government had to have some system of inspection to ensure that the money given by it was not wasted upon subsidising useless theological controversies. It was afraid that the missionaries would otherwise concentrate

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1. P. Chapman: Hindoo Female Education P.90.

upon religious instruction and that it would lose its neutral position in the eyes of the Indians. On the other hand it was equally unwilling to spend money "to enable little Muhammaden girls to sit behind a curtain and recite the Koran, which they will readily enough without any such encouragement"[1].

But in a country like India where custom, seclusion and early marriage made even women teachers scare, it was all the more difficult to recruit inspectoresses whose duties would certainly involve more travelling and moving about than that of a teacher in a girls' school. The missionaries being theearliest to enter the field of girls' education were the first to face the problem. In some ways their task was easier than that of the Indians or the Government. As most of the girls in their schools were either Christians or belonged to the lower Castes and Classes, the tyranny of Indian social prejudices was not so strong. Only when they embarked upon reaching the higher Castes through Zenana instruction did they realise the full gravity of the problem.

The early missionaries do not seem to have felt the problem of the inspection of girls' schools as very different from that of superintending boys' schools. At the Serampore Schools a novel system was employed. "The number of copy books written in the year 1819 amounts to 12,000; the daily lesson (including correct sentiments in Science, Morals and Religions), is written four times from the dictation of the monitors.

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1. J. Richey: Selections from the Educational Records of the Govt. of India Part II P.299.

They are transmitted to Serampore, each is entered opposite the boy's name, with the day of the month in which the last lesson was written, and the number of the lesson; and thus means are obtained for ascertaining at one glance the progress of the boy throughout the year".[1]

Sometimes an Officer called the Ameen was employed but not being a Christian, he was not regarded as satisfactory.[2] More often a "converted" Indo-Portuguese was employed as an inspector. He was given a house and a horse and was expected to report upon the number of lessons being read in a particular class, and the number of boys present at different schools at different times of the day in his are or "Circle". These were checked by the Reports of the masters. Sometimes the Assistant Secretary (presumably of the missionary society responsible for the schools) paid unexpected visits to the schools to keep the inspectors on the alert.[3] This system seems to have been copied elsewhere and was regarded as conducive to stricter economy and better discipline.[4]

But on the whole, the missionaries largely relied upon direct supervision of the schools. They favoured visits "by brethren and their

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1. J. Peggs: Claims of British India: An Appeal 1820 P.21.
2. J. Peggs: Claims of British India: An Appeal 1828 P.21
3. Ibid
4. G. Smith: Life of John Wilson P.69.

wives" as often as possible.[1] When this was not possible, the teachers were required "at least once a week to attend at the house to receive particular instructions."[2] If this was not sufficient and suitable, persons were not available to supervise the work of the teachers, the Central School System was tried. All the girls' schools in a locality with their masters and mistresses were assembled at the Central School for a limited number of hours a day to receive lessons from the woman missionary and dispersed later to their separate Sites. It was believed that in this way the European women missionary could exercise a more direct influence both upon the teachers and their pupils.[3]

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1. J. Peggs: Claims of British India: An Appeal 1828 p.21.
2. G. Smith: Life of John Wilson p.69
3. See Chapter II P.128; 133-138.

It was only after 1854 when the Government promised grants-in-aid to female education that the difficulties in the inspection of girls' schools became apparent. Not only the Zennnas but the schools for high-Caste girls opened by Indians were not open to inspection. Objection was taken to the European Inspector of Schools'[1] visit though no such objection was raised to his wife or to the Brahman Deputy-Inspector of Schools.[2] Girls sometimes used the same building as boys and their classes were, therefore, held earlier. They finished before nine in the morning, the time when the boys' schools assembled; the European Inspector could not conveniently arrive until 10.30 a.m. All the evidence of the existence of a girls' school left by that time was the black-board. A girls' class had to be expecially assembled for his inspection in the afternoon but he contented himself by examining a girl picked up by the Brahman teacher on the roadside.[3] The Inspector sometimes did not possess a knowledge of the Indian vernaculars[4] and one admitted that he was in one instance deliberately misled; The Deputy

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1. These were first appointed in Bombay in 1840 (See Bombay Gazeteer Vol. III P.105) but assumed prominence after the Despatch of 1854 which put the Education Department on a firm footing (See Ch.IV P.317)

2. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal 1858-59 App.A.P.48

3. Ibid P.68

4. Enquiries by the Director of Public Instruction Bengal revealed that 14 Officers of the Education Department did not possess a knowledge of the vernaculars. The Secretary of States' Despatch of the 22nd December 1859 made it incumbent upon all European Officers of the Education Department to pass a test in the vernaculars of the District in which they were employed within a certain time. (Report on Public Instruction Bengal, 1859-60 P.88)

Inspector, who was opposed to the Vidyasagar Schools, misinterpreted what the villagers said about the Schools.[1] The Inspector was suspicious of some of the requests for the establishment of female schools which would give employment at Government expense to a master without his having to raise a finger. Reports were also current of false registers being kept[2] but there was no way of verifying them unless the Inspectors rose early and learnt the vernaculars. Conditions were worse in other parts of Northern India because the people there were more conservative and the number of European Officers was even smaller than in Bengal. There the "examination was tempered by the intervention of a Parda."[3]

Clearly this state of affairs could not be allowed to continue and some means had to be devised to arrange for the regular inspection of girls' schools. In the absence of suitably qualified women, the Government resorted to the temporary expedient of appointing highly respectable men for the work. On January 1st 1863, Thakur Kalyan Singh was appointed "Deputy Inspector of Female Schools in the 2nd Circle" and his duties were clearly defined in a Hidayat Namah.[4] His duties were very varied. He was to encourage the establishment of a new schools, particularly for training mistresses, and improve the existing ones.[5] He was to seek the co-operation of other

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1. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal 1858-59 APP.A. P.68
2. Ibid. P.69
3. North Western Provinces and Oudh Provincial Education Committee Report 1884 P.33
4. Report on Public Instruction North Western Provinces and Oudh 1862-63 P.31.
5. Ibid. Appendix D. P.20A-22A.

Deputy Inspectors, Revenue Authorities and English women living in the District. He an the Director of Public Instruction were the only two Government Officials with access to girls' schools.[1] His powers were wide; guardians were to consult him regarding admission of their girls to schools and even the promotion of a pupil from one class to another within the school was subject to his confirmation.[2]

He was required to keep a detailed diary of the dates he visited the schools. The difficulty and delicacy of his task was fully realised and the necessity for keeping his manners and conduct above reproach was impressed on him.[3]

Thakur Kalyan Singh seems to have been successful and many new girls' schools were opened in the Province. His fame even spread to the neighbouring Province of Punjab where a monograph by him on the subject of girls' education was commended to the consideration of Deputy Inspectors by the Director of Public Instruction, Mr. Arnold. Indian Deputy Inspectors in Punjab, Bengal and elsewhere did some useful work in assisting with the instruction of girls. No less commendable were the services sometimes given by the wives of the European Inspectors of Schools who, at the request of their husbands undertook to inspect the Zenanas under trying conditions.[4]

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1. Ibid.
2. Report on Public Instruction North Western Provinces and Oudh 1862-63 Appendix, D.P.20A-22A.
3. Ibid.
4. Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society: Paper presented to Her Majesty the Queen in December, 1868, Appendix A.P.29-30

But male Deputy Inspectors, however conscientious, could not do as much for girls' education as an inspectoress would have done. The handicaps under which they laboured have been well-summarised by Miss Collett: "The present Deputy Inspectors are, in most cases, men who are willing and anxious to do their best, but who are quite unable to enter into, or to understand, the difficulties which beset frmale teachers. In the first place, the peculiar circimstances under which women in India are brought up, tend to make them very timid when they come in contact with men who are strangers to them; they have been accustomed to such a system of repression, and dependence on others, that in nine cases out of ten they will rather suffer injustice than make a stand for themselves; consequently they need a peculiar kind of treatment and encouragement, quite unnecessary in the case of male teachers. Besides this female teachers are a new element in most villages, and their conduct is subject to close scrutiny, and anything but benevolent criticism. I have known of cases where the Deputy Inspectors, instead of going to the girls' schools to inspect the records, have ordered the women to bring them to their offices or houses. Now the fact of a mistress going to the residence of a Deputy is quite enough to raise an evil report about her. I only instance this to show how delicate a matter the treatment of female teachers is. Again, when women are sent to village schools, they in most cases, go to replace men who have been in charge of the schools

for many years, and who are naturally enough annoyed at being turned out to make room for a female teacher. These men generally hold an influential position in the village and they do what they can to stir up the residents against the newcomer, so that the poor mistress has, at the very commencement of her career, to contend with and overcome a good deal of smouldering animosity. Then the male assistant considers it infra dig to be under a woman, and is often in-subordinate and insulting to her, doing what he can to subvert her authority and lower her in the eyes of her pupils; when at last she is driven to report his conduct, the Deputy Inspector considers her discontented, and does not understand why she should begin by making complaints against her assistant who got on well enough with her predecessor".[1]

Moreover, Zenanas were completely outside the range of inspectors and this work had expanded to such an extent that even a less qualified inspectoress was better than none at all. It was under this desperate necessity that in March 1863, "a female visitor by the name of Wuzeer-Ul-Nissan, a woman of very respectable connections, was appointed to supervise the instruction of Persian-Urdoo Department. Being respectable and Pardanashin herself, she has been in the habit of going about in a dooly to inspect the female Schools established among the Mohammedan population in the City, who appear to have been perfectly satisfied with her appointment as has been manifested by the fact of their admitting her in their female apartments with pleasure. She has performed her duties with great credit to

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1. Quoted in Indian Education Commission Report 1884. P.543.

herself and to the entire satisfaction of the Committee. Her services have also been brought to the notice of His Honour the Lieut. Governor at a Durbar, held on April 18th, 1863, when His Honour being pleased with her exertions, ordered a Khillut to be presented to her with purwannah acknowledging the services rendered by her in the cause of female education".[1]

This was the first appointment by the Government of a woman to perform the duties of an inspectoress of schools, although she was not officially called by that name. It is clear that the veil must have considerably hampered her; nor does it appear that she did much except make herself popular in the Zenanas. But the Government was so anxious to have these schools inspected that the governor himself publicly conferred marks of honour on her after less than two months' service!

It was obvious that inspectoresses were indispensable and it was desirable that they should be duly qualified women who could move about more freely. These could only be recruited from among the Europeans, Indian Christians and reformist Indian sects such as the Brahmos. In 1867 a European Inspector of Schools in the North Western Provinces, Mr. Griffith, delivered almost an ultimatum. "I cannot feel satisfied with the condition of these schools which are now in existence, or included to do much towards their increase without the assistance of an Inspectoress".[2] By the end of the year the suggestion had been accepted and Mrs. Etherington, the

1. Report on Public Instruction, Punjab 1863-64 P.60.
2. North Western Provinces and Oudh Provincial Education Committee Report 1884 P.3

wife of a missionary, Superintendent of the Zenana Missions and Vizianagram Schools, was appointed as "the Inspectoress of Schools".[1]

Similar appointments followed in other Provinces. In 1876 Mrs. Manmohini Wheeler, daughter of the Rev. K.M.Banerjee and wife of a European Missionary, was appointed the "Inspectoress of Girls' Schools and Zenana Agencies in Calcutta, the 24 Pergunnahs and Hoogly",[2] it was a temporary post in the first instance but obviously the Government was not going to abolish it so long as suitable personnel was available. At Madras, Mrs. Brander, who had been the Superintendent of the unsuccessful Government Female Normal School, was appointed in 1880 to inspect girls' schools in the Presidency.[3] The Director of Public Instruction was very appreciative of the work done by her.[4]

The Inspectoresses not only performed their duties well but made for greater efficiency by reducing the burden of overworked Inspectors. It was also desirable to secure greater co-operation between the Inspectoresses on the one hand and the Inspectors and Directors of Public Instruction on the other.[5] For this purpose,

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1. Ibid Journal of National Indian Association, December 1875 P.67
2. Report on Public Instruction, Bengal 1875-76 P.85; Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report 1884 Page 384.
3. Madras Provincial Education Committee Report 1884 P.130
4. S.Satthianadhan: A History of Education in the Madras Presidency P.111.
5. Bengal Provincial Education Committee Report 1884 P.386

the staff of the Inspectoresses was gradually increased and women were put on the Director's Staff.[1] However, the whole female inspecting agency was far from being adequate for the task.[2]

In conclusion it is interesting to note that the Inspectoress was not first appointed in those Provinces where education had taken the deepest root but in those where Indian Society was most conservative and where higher authorities were most favourable to girls' education. Bengal and Madras followed Punjab and North Western Provinces, and whilst Bombay, where women were relatively free, was the last to make such an appointment. In England too, where Pardah did not prevail, it took another thirty years and some feminist agitation before inspectoresses were appointed in 1896.[3]

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1. W. Meston: India Educational Policy P.183.
2. Ibid
3. Bremner: Education of Women P.49 - 50.

Chapter IX

FEMALE EDUCATION IN 1882

Thus by 1882 the foundations for the development of girls' education had been laid down. The structure was complete from village primary schools through secondary and High Schools to University Colleges. The Provincial heads of the Education Departments, the Directors of Public Instruction, supervised education in their areas assisted by a female staff, the Government of India exercising only a guiding influence. In almost all essential details girls' education followed very closely the pattern of boys' but a generation or even more intervened between the establishment of corresponding institutions for girls.

However impressive the account and however valiant the efforts of the pioneers of female education in India, it would appear that it was still an exotic growth. It meant little more than the application of Western Methods of education, trained teachers, attendance registers, written reports and the class-room system. Statistically girls education did not amount to much. It was far behind that of the boys; in the whole of India only .84 percent of girls of school-going age were actually under instruction compared with 16.28 percent of boys. It is also noteworthy that with the exception of Bengal, the instruction of girls was most popular in precisely those areas where boys' education had made the greatest headway. But it is difficult to say what proportion of the girls would have remained at school if European money and teachers had been withdrawn.[1]

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1. M.F.Billington: Woman in India, P.30-31.
"So long as the vitality of the female education movement is preserved from outside and European money and energy are forthcoming to fan the precarious little flame, the present system will last, and a certain amount of progress will be recorded. But before we can view this subject with any genuine satisfaction, I feel that from being an artificially fostered production

Statistics, however, are not a safe guide to the extent of literacy among women in India. The figures of the Education Department did not take into account those who were in no way connected with it. Beside they only dealt with girls under instruction and gave no idea of the number of women who were able to read and write.

The Census Report (1881) frankly acknowledged that "the statistics of female instruction are so defective that ... no safe conclusion being deducible from the figures in the returns." It goes on to say that "there is no doubt that the number of women who can read and write is not fully stated in the Census Schedules ... the method of collecting information, so far as females were concerned, was unfortunate; ... respectable women who could read and write (it was in this form the information was asked), would reply in the negative, because it is not considered reputable for a woman to write, though her ability to read would be no blot on her character. The mood of reasoning by which such a conclusion is arrived at is unfamiliar to English thought. But the idea is that a woman could only want to write to her gallant, and, therefore, it is disreputable for a woman to be able to write." [1] A detailed comparison between the Census returns and those of the Education Department is not possible because "the two sets of figures do not cover the same ground." [2]

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it has become a living reality we must have created with a genuine desire for learning for its own sake and further provided the means by which it can be naturally and on the spot supplied, according to the inherent prejudices and beliefs of the people."

1. Indian Census Report 1883 Vol.1, p.254.

2. Ibid p.238

	Secondary[1]	Primary[2]	Total[3]	Boys.[4]
Madras	.02	1.48	1.50	17.78
Bombay	.03	1.56	1.59	22.91
Bengal	.02	.79	.80	20.82
N.W.P. & Oudh	-	.27	.28	8.25
Punjab	-	.71	.72	12.11
Central Provinces	-	.44	.44	10.49
Assam	-	.47	.47	14.61
Coorg	-	2.84	2.86	22.44
Haidrabad & Assigned Dists.	-	.22	.22	17.10
Total for INDIA	.01	.83	.84	16.28

1. Indian Education Commission Report 1884, P.530.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid. P.X, Table No. 2a.

But Statistics are a safer guide to the relative literacy of women of different religious persuasions, for, with the possible exception of Christians and Parsis, there is no reason to suppose that the prejudice against disclosing the fact was more operative in some than in others. Both Parsi and Christian men and women shewed a considerably higher percentage of literacy than any other section of Indians. Among Buddhists and Jains the figure for male literacy was high, but for women very much lower. Above all there is the startling revelation that whereas literate Hindu men were about twice as numerous as Muslems, the percentage of literacy was actually higher among Moslem women than among Hindu:

Percentage of literacy for all India by Religions in 1881.[1]

Religion	Males	Females.
Hindus	9.0	.2
Muslems	5.9	.3
Christians	37.3	16.4
Budhists	49.2	3.2
Sikhs	8.2	.2
Jains	48.2	.6
Parsis	72.9	36.9

1. Indian Census Report 1881, vol.1. P.230. Figures for minor sects and aboriginees have been omitted.

That moslems were more strict in observing their religious practices and gave their girls elementary instruction so that they could read the Koran is only partly true and cannot fully account for this difference. A more probable explanation is that the backwardness of Indian Moslems, except in the sphere of higher education, has been very much exaggerated.[1] Misleading generalisations have been made from conditions in Bengal which were not typical of other parts of the Country.

Undoubtedly Moslems were concentrated in Bengal, Sind, Punjab and the North West Frontier Province and here, except in the Punjab, their condition was depressed. Several causes contributed to this situation.

In Bengal, with the establishment of British rule, the decadent aristocratic Moslem ruling class was supplanted by the Hindus who, under the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis in 1793, bought over the estates with the money they had made in private trading or as commercial agents of the British. The survivors of the old ruling class, such as the Nawabs of Dacca and Murshidabad, did not inspire confidence as they showed themselves singularly inept and inadaptable. Leadership passed to the new English-educated Hindu Middle Class. The vast majority of Moslems, largely converted from the lowest castes of Hindus, tilled the land and lived on the brink of poverty. The Pathans of the

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1. Indian Education Commission Report 1884, P.483.

. A.P.Howell: Education in British India, P.135.

Frontier preferred a semi-nomadic existence and the state of the Moslem peasantry of Sind was equally wretched. Education was of little use to them and they could not afford a luxury. Still it is remarkable that even in Bengal the difference in figures for Primary education of the Hindus and Moslems is not very great, the former being only a little ahead.[1] It became considerable only when Secondary and Collegiate education are also taken into account.[2] As girls' instruction in the case of both Hindus and Moslems was confined to the earliest stages, the disproportion in educational attainment between the women of the two religions was far less than among men.

In the remaining parts of India where Moslems formed small but influential urban minorities, the percentage of literacy among them was appreciably higher than among the Hindus. Proportionately more Moslem than Hindu boys and girls attended the schools[3] though the former even here disregarded higher education. The backwardness of Bengal and

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1. Bengal Census Report 1881, vol.1, P.199.

2. See Appendix. xv

3. Bombay Provincial Education Committee Report 1884, P.70.
Madras Census Report 1883, vol.1, P.183/4
Bombay Census Report 1883, vol.1, P.151.
North Western Provinces & Oudh Census Report 1883, vol.1, P.91/92.
Punjab Census Report 1883, vol1, P.404.
Indian Education Commission Report 1884, P.496, 504.
Report on Public Instruction, Punjab 1880-81, P.li.
A.Howell: Education in British India P.135
It is confirmed partly by Quinquennial Reports on the Progress of Education in India 1907 - 1912, P.213 and 1912 - 1917, P.170. The Quinquennial Report for 1917 - 1922, vol.1, P.126, confirms it fully. According to it, .9 percent of the Hindu and 1.1 percent of the Moslem female population were at school in 1919 in the whole of India.

It is only fair to point out that the Quinquennial Reports for 1882-1886, P.282 and for 1887 - 1892, P.284 do not bear this fact out and the latter considers it "useless to attempt to deduce from these figures an estimate of the percentage of girls at school among the various races of India."

lack of enthusiasm for higher education among Indian Moslems seem to have acted as a dead-weight to reduce their literacy figures for the whole country. It was different with girls' education. Higher education in which Hindu men predominated, was negligible in the case of both Hindu and Moslem girls and the greater readiness of the latter to take advantage of the educational facilities offered to them more than redressed the backwardness of their coreligionists elsewhere. Whilst the percentage of literacy was appreciably higher among Hindu boys, more Moslem girls were returned as able to read and write in the whole country.

Western education in India, including that of girls, was largely an urban middle-class movement.[1] Social and economic factors were more important than religions in determining the spread of education. The extent of literacy depended upon how far the followers of a particular faith formed the middle-class in a particular area and lived by trade or Government employment.

Although forming only a small section of the population, many of the Muslems in the Bombay Presidency were engaged in trade.[2]

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1. Madras Census Report 1881, vol.1, P.184. While the percentage of female literacy in the whole Presidency was 1.33, the corresponding figures for municipal towns and country districts were 4.32 and .66 respectively.
Bombay Census Report 1881, vol 1, P.154, 160.
Punjab Census Report 1881, vol 1, P.404.

2. Bombay Census Report 1881, vol 1, P.158/59. Education figures for Bombay and Calcutta provide an interesting comparison; while Hindus were more advanced at Calcutta, it was the reverse at Bombay. (Ibid. P.171).

RELIGION	MALES		FEMALES	
	Bombay	Calcutta	Bombay	Calcutta.
Hindus	26.7	36.9	3.9	6.8
Moslems	28.1	14.2	6.0	1.0
Christians	52.9	79.0	36.5	67.1
TOTAL	32.5	31.1	9.2	6.6

The Moslems of the North Western Provinces and Oudh (modern United Provinces) and of the Central Provinces belonged to the literary professions. They held a higher percentage of Government posts than their numbers justified.[1] In the Madras Presidency, although not necessarily more properous than the Hindus, the Moslems were largely army pensioners who suffered less during calamities like famines because the Government gave them priority in relief. They were also more urbanised, 21.4 percent of them compared with 8.64 percent of the Hindus lived in the towns.[2]

This is the reason why Moslems in these parts were not only ahead of their brethren where they were more numerous but also surpassed the Hindus in instructing their women.

Among the Hindus, the Nairs of Southern India deserve particular notice. They were among the few in India, and indeed in the world, who traced descent through the female line. Their matriarchal form of Society put women in a dominant position. Nair women enjoyed greater freedom and were far ahead of other Indian women in literacy and education.[3]

The Jains, being largely a trading community, showed a higher percentage of literacy.[4] Actually more of them could read and write then shown in the returns.[5] A smaller proportion of Sikh women from the Punjab, where they were more numerous and lived in villages, could read and write than the few of the same religion in Sind, who were mainly town-dwellers.[6]

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1. Indian Education Commission Report 1884, P.502, 504.
2. Madras Census Report 1881, vol 1, P.38.
3. K.Thurston: Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol.V P.412
   Madras Census Report 1881, Vol.1. P.184.
4. Indian Census Report 1931, P.329
   See Table P.643
5. North Wester Provinces census Report 1881, vol.1, P.91/2
6. Punjab Census Report 1881, Vol.1, P.404 and Bombay Census Report 1881, vol.1, P.152.

The instance of Parsis is even more striking. An enterprising business Community, they were quick to sense the advantages that would accrue from education. They seized the opportunity and were "the only pure indigenous or domiciled race amongst whom female education has made marked progress"[1] It is significant that "the average of women who come under the head of instructed here amounts to 38 percent, and in two of the chief towns affected by this race, Poona and Bombay, to 64.7 and 45.1 respectively. It is curious to note the small ratio in Surat, Broach and Thana, where the Community has been settled for years in country vilages instead of confining themselves to the towns."[2]

The case of Indian Christians was slightly different. They came after the Parsis in female literacy but were far ahead of other Communities.[3] Here personalities and religion were probably more important than the economic or urban factors. No doubt except in Madras and to a much smaller extent in Bengal, the Indian Christians were mainly confined to the towns. But the higher percentage of literacy among them is largely due to two things. Having broken away from Indian religions, Social restrictions on the liberty of women were considerably weaker. Protestantism with its emphasis on individual salvation through the Bible favoured literacy. European effort and money were concentrated on them. Even where they formed rural Communities as in the South, they lived in compact villages under the close supervision of European Missionaries. Though Missionary resources were inadequate for the

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1. Bombay Census Report 1883, vol.1, P.163.
2. Ibid.
3. See table P. 643

task and the Converts suffered from initial handicaps derived from their low state in Indian Society, the persistence and zeal of the Missionaries in instructing them bore fruitful results. Had the missionaries found more suitable converts, their success would have been even greater for the Christians, unlike others, were not handicapped by the clash between what was taught at school and their home environment.[1] The work of the missionaries in raising the standard of some of the population was truly remarkable.

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1. See Chapter V.P.373
Cornelia Sorabji: India Recalled P.117 - 18.

CHAPTER X

EDUCATION AND RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL REFORM (1850-1882)

Education is conditioned by environment and in turn conditions it. The main impulse in Indian education in the 19th century came from England and however different the context of that country was from that of India, the latter was profoundly affected. Doubtless some of the ideas underwent radical changes in being adapted to Indian conditions; nevertheless, these ideas set up a ferment in Indian Society.[1] Three most important effects of the new education in India - which repay a more detailed examination - were the rise of movements for religious and social reform, the growing importance of the written over the spoken word, and the emergence of a microscopic but highly Anglicised minority of Indians accepting British standards.

The "effective penetration" of India by the West dates from 1800 when a large part of the country was brought under British rules. British victory in the field ensured a temporary supremacy for the British in other spheres of life too. The Indians affected by the new ideas tended to judge themselves and their

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1. Church Missionary Intellegencer December 1851 Vol. II P.265.

institutions by British standards. This was no less so in the case of religion and the first impact of christianity led to a whole-hearted acceptance of its ethics and even, to some extent, of its mode of worship[1].

The founder of the Brahma Samaj was Raja Ram Mohan Rai (1772-1833). He came from a religious family of Kulin Brahmins but was sent to Patna at the age of twelve to study Persian, which was then a passport to Government Service. There he came under the influence of Moslem Mystics (Sufis) and wrote a pamphlet on rationalist and deist lines. Shortly afterwards he entered the service of the East India Company under John Digby, continuing there his religious enquiries and discussions.

"Originally Ram Mohun Rai had only hatred for the English; but his practical experience of the Government, his intercourse with Digby, and further study of English literature led to a change of feeling and conviction." [2]

After amassing a fortune, he retired from the service and settled in Calcutta to pursue his religious and philosophic interests. He made the acquaintance of the Serampore Missionaries and set out to study christianity seriously, learning Hebrew and

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1. It must, of course, be understood that the vast masses of India remained unaffected; their daily routine and religion saw little change.
2. Farquhar J.N. : Modern Religious Movements in India P.31.

Greek to study the original sources. In 1820 he published a remarkable book, "The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness,"..."being a series of extracts from the Gospels, covering the bulk of Christ's teaching given by Matthew and Luke, with a few pages from Mark and still fewer from John."[1]

But the bigotry of the christian missionaries alienated him; collaboration ceased and they indulged in controversy. The Rev. W. Adam, a Unitarian, sided with Ram Mohun and in 1821 they founded a Unitarian Mission at Calcutta under a joint Committee of Europeans and Indians. The services were conducted in English and a printing-press and education were enlisted to produce Hindu Unitarians.[2] But Adam and Ram Mohun could not pull together and the partnership broke up.[2]

Ram Mohun formed a separate body, the Brahma Sabha, on 20th August 1828. The name was later changed to Brahma Samaj and a weekly service in Vernacular replaced the one in English. The Society met every Saturday evening from seven to nine and the service included the reading of selections from Upnishads with translations and a sermon in Bengali and chanting of hymns. "There was no organisation, no membership, no creed. It was a weekly meeting open to anyone who cared to attend."

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1. Farquhar. J.N. : Modern Religious Reform Movements in India P.32.
2. Ibid P.32.

In 1830 he sailed for England to study at first hand Western civilisation and christianity which had so profoundly influenced him. He died there three years later.

His movement languished for a while until taken up in 1842 by Debendra Nath Tagore, the son of Ram Mohun's wealthy friend, Dwarka Nath Tagore. He started a Journal to counteract the influence of the christian Missionary Duff. "He believed India had no need of christianity; and he was never known to quote the Bible." Under his guidance the Samaj was enriched by the introduction of prayer and devotional exercises. The Samajists renounced idolatory and sought the communion of the human soul with the Supreme Spirit.

The movement grew but there were difficulties. The majority of the members believed in the Divine inspiration of the Vedas, which conflicted with the rationalism implicit in Ram Mohun's teachings. Students were sent to Benares and as a result of their enquiries the uncritical acceptance of the Vedas was abandoned in 1850. Deprived of any authoritative standard of doctrine, the Samaj was thrown back on nature and intuition. However, the Upnishads still continued to be popular with the members.[1]

In 1857 Keshab Chandra Sen joined the Samaj. He had received a good English education and was employed in the Bank of Bengal.

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1. Farquhar. J.N. : Modern Religious Movements in India P.40-1.

Four years later he and some of his friends gave up their posts to become missionaries of the Samaj. His oratorical abilities soon brought him into prominence and he was ordained a minister. But he also brought with him a zeal for social reform. He did not believe in the sacred thread, or in caste restrictions and favoured the remarriage of widows. This led to the formation of two parties within the Samaj. In 1865 Keshab and his followers seceded from the older body and a year later founded a new Society, called the Brahma Samaj of India.

The members of the new Samaj were very active socially. They advocated the education and emancipation of women; they substituted for the scanty clothing of the stay-at-home Bengali wife a new becoming dress for outdoor wear. A new form of marriage-ritual in imitation of the christian marriage was initiated. Inter-caste marriage, and the remarriage of widows were encouraged; child marriage was severely frowned upon. In time of famine or epidemic, the Samajists were very active.[1]

The movement was spreading, yet there were grounds for dissatisfaction and an opposition party to Keshab was being formed. Keshab feared the full emancipation of women and particularly the effect of higher education on them. The progressive section

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1. Farquhar. J.N. Modern Religious Movements in India. P.48.

resented this. They were still more dissatisfied with his imperious attitude and the principle of adesh (God communicated directly with him) which he enunciated. The final break came in 1876 when he consented to the marriage of his daughter to the Prince of Kuch Bihar, both being under age. This was in direct conflict with the principles of the Samaj but Keshab claimed that he had received adesh from God to go on with the wedding. A great body of influential and intelligent men left Keshab and from 1870 to 1884 there were three Samajes[1].

Keshab founded his New Dispensation and gradually moved closer to the Christian position. He recognised "the glory of the Character of Christ", he accepted the Christian doctrine of Sin and above all the Christian attitude to Social life[2]. He never tried to systemise his thought but his personal gifts were so great that he inspired tremendous enthusiasm both in England and in India. He remained the most important man in the Samaj until his death in 1884.

The Samaj was never likely to become a popular movement. In 1910 it had only 400 followers mainly in and around Calcutta[3], but its influence on the social life of Bengal was far greater than implied by its numbers.

In Western India the movement for religious reform arose later and was never prosecuted with the same energy as in Bengal.[4] The earliest organisation was the Gupta Sabha which was a secret Society and met for worship and religious discussion but about which little more is known. In 1846 it was succeeded by the Paramhansa Sabha founded by Dadoba Pandurang[5].

1. Farquhar J.N. : Modern Religious Movements in India P.53-4
2. Farquhar J.N. : Modern Religious Movements in India P.55-69
3. Encyclopaedia Brittanica (Eleventh Edition) Vol.IV P.389
4. J.M. Mitchell: In Western India P.393
5. Farquhar J.N. : Modern Religious Movements in India P.75

It was also a Secret Society; hymns were sung and religious questions were discussed at meetings. Caste restrictions were flouted and Hindus, Moslems and Christians enjoyed a common meal. In 1860 the activities of this Society were revealed, and it dissolved in confusion.[1]

In 1867 a Theistic Society on the model of Brahma Samaj was formed under the inspiration of Keshab Chandra Sen. This Prarthana Samaj was headed by Dr. Atmaram Pandurang (1823-98) who had been deeply influenced by Dr. John Wilson, the famous Bombay missionary. It included among its members some of the most famous names in the Presidency such as V. A. Modak, B. M. Wagle, Sir R. G. Bhanderkar and Mr. Justice Ranade.

Miss Collet, comparing it with the Brahma Samaj, wrote "The Theistic Church in Western India occupies a position of its own. Although in thoroughly fraternal relations with the Eastern Samajes, it is of indigenous growth and of independent standing. It has never detached itself so far from the Hindu element of Brahmaism as many of the Bengali Samajes, and both in religious observances and social customs, it clings far more closely to the old models. It is more learned and less emotional in its tone, and far more cautious and less radical in its policy than the Chief Samajes of Bengal. But it is doing good work in its own way and it has enlarged its operations considerably within the last few years".[2]

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1. Farquhar J. N. : Modern Religious Movements in India P.75
2. Farquhar J. N. : Modern Religious Movements in India P.79.

The Parsis, like the Hindus, felt the impact of Western Civilisation. In 1843 John Wilson's work on the Parsis appeared which exposed the weak points of the religion, and the ignorance and hypocrisy of its Clergy. The more educated and enlightened Parsis were stirred by this book and in 1851 founded the Rahnumai Mazdayasnan Sabha for "the regeneration of the Social Condition of the Parsis and the restoration of the Zorastrian religion to its pristine purity". Dadabhai Naoroji was one of the leaders of this earlier reform group.

In 1859 Kharshedji Rustamji Cama, a very wealthy Parsis visited Europe on business and before returning to Bombay he studied the Avesta in the original under the greatest European Scholars of the day. He applied to his study Western methods, comparative religion and philology, and sought to produce a more learned Clergy.[1] Although the Conservative element was strong, the Progressives had become a force in the Parsi community which had to be reckoned with.

Among the Moslems too, there arose a similar movement led by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. The Moslems felt particularly bitter as they had been ousted by the Europeans from whatever position they enjoyed in the Country. The Mutiny revealed to him the need for the Moslems to absorb Western Science and learning. He bluntly declared, "All the religious learning in Muhammadan libraries is of no avail".[2] He wrote and spoke in favour of Natural Religion and went as far as to say that "Reason alone is a sufficient guide". He published a Commentary on the Genesis and the position he took up in general

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1. Farquhar J. N. Modern Religious Movements in India P.85-86
2. Farquhar J. N. P.96-97

resembled that of Ram Mohun Rai. Some of the Moslems went even further but it is true to say that these had little influence on the Community as a whole.

The eclectic doctrines emunciated by the earlier reformers could hardly be expected to have any mass-support and an inevitable reaction occurred. They had all been inspired by English Education and that very fact tended to mark them out from the overwhelming majority of Indians who had received no such education. Moreover, when the initial shock of the British Conquest in general and of the Mutiny in particular had diminished, a new temper appeared in the Country with the return of greater self-confidence. It first manifested itself among the Hindus but in time affected other religions as well. Its keynote was the assertion of the Supremacy of Indian religions over the Western, and a defence, partial or full, of their tenets.

The most important of these movements was the Arya Samaj. It was started by Dayananda Saraswati (1825-88), a Brahmin of Gujerat who renounced idol worship. He received no English education but studied Hindu Scriptures and Sanskrit. Although his studies did not go very deep, he sought the solution to the problem of human misery in the Vedas. After 1866 he gathered disciples

around him and began attacking the "foreign" religions of Christianity and Islam on one hand, and practices adopted by Hinduism on the other which had not been sanctioned in the Vedas. Thus he accepted the four classes as social units, but denounced the Caste system as it existed then. This naturally antagonised the more orthodox Indians.

Not being affected by Scientific Scholarship, he used the Vedas not only to support his beliefs but he found in them the germ of all the contemporary discoveries in Science. Thus he discerned the arts of Manufacture, Chemistry, Popular Instruction, etc., in the Yajna or "Sacrificial Cult".

The first Samaj or Association was founded in 1875 at Bombay but the movement spread much more widely in the United Provinces and the Punjab, the homes of Indian orthodoxy. It attracted educated men whose Hinduism had been undermined, but who were opposed to the teachings of foreign creeds, while they wished to reconcile modern science and Western ethics with the faith of the Vedas. Unlike the Brahma Samaj, the Arya Samaj was not eclectic and if narrower in scope, it was more intense in conviction. Its emphasis was on the vernaculars and on the Vedas, which were held in deep reverence by the Hindu masses.

He had a vision of India purged of her superstitions, filled with the

fruits of science, worshipping one God, fitted for self-rule, having a place in the sisterhood of nations and restored to her ancient glory. All this was to be accomplished by throwing over-board the accumulated superstitions of the centuries and returning to the pure and inspired teachings of the Vedas."[1] These dreams were far more in keeping with the returning self-respect and increasing consciousness of the Indians.[2]

It will suffice here merely to list some of the other more important movements which undertook to defend the old faiths. These were the Ahmadīyas of Qadian (1879), the Rādhā Soami Satsang (1861), the Deva Samaj (1887), Ramkrishna Paramhansa and the revival of the Bhakti (devotional) cult (1871), Theosophy (1875), besides many purely sectarian movements.[3] The Parsis and the Moslems showed the same revival of interest in their own pasts and the tendency to dismiss the West too summarily.[4]

Whatever the source of their inspiration, European or their own past, and whatever their attitude on any particular aspect of religion, most of the above movements included social reform and

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1. Indian Evangelical Review January 1892.
2. V. Chirol : Indian Unrest P.109.
   Sir Valentine Chirol went too far when he dubbed Dayanand a political schemer.
3. J.N.Farquhar : Modern Religious Movements in India.
   Chapters III and IV contain a fuller account of these movements.
4. Ibid. P.346-47.

service as an important part of their programme. Whether it be the Brahma Samaj or Theosophy, they all favoured the education of girls and founded schools for them.[1] They advocated the improvement of the conditions of women and found no sanction for their depressed status in the scriptures. Some took measures of social reform to the Statute book; others endeavoured to educate and change public opinion.

The most important legislative act was their prohibition of the practice of Sati (widow-burning) in 1829, and within a few years its worst abuses had been rectified. In later years instances of this rite are extremely rare. Equally strong measures were taken to eradicate female infanticide. Stern action by the Government and the education of public opinion by the reformers resulted in this inhuman practice being stamped out.

The condition of the widows particularly attracted the attention of the reformers. One necessary consequence of child-marriage was a large number of virgin widows who lost their boy husbands before reaching the age of puberty. It seemed cruel to deprive them of the right to marry again. B. Moti hal Seal of

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1. J.N.Farquhar; Modern Religious Movements in India. P. 84, 126-127, 205, 207, 271, 309, 417.

Calcutta offered a prize of Rs. 10,000 to anyone belonging to the higher castes who would marry a widow.[1] Raj Krishna Dey, "a young well-educated and highly intelligent youth, one of the pupils of the Medical College, and acting, since the completion of his studies, in the Upper Provinces as a native surgeon..... in his dying moments..... entreated his friends, nay enjoined it upon them, not to allow his wife to remain a widow, or at least not to prevent her from marrying again if she so wished. The time was when such an act would have called forth the Anathemas of the Dharma Sabhā, and the ire of the whole Hindu Community: but this as well as the previous offer of Motihal Seal have fallen dead on the ear and show how little an impression of an unfavourable kind they have produced on the minds of the people."[2]

Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar led the agitation for the remarriage of widows and quoted scriptures to prove that it was not forbidden. He finally succeeded in persuading the Government to pass the Widow Remarriage Act in 1856 which legalised such unions. However, the working of this Act provided a classical example of the comparative futility of a legislative measure far in advance of public opinion; it is reckoned that in the next forty years or so not more than five hundred widows remarried.[3]

The welfare work for widows, however, continued. In 1864 Sasipada Bannerjee opened for them a school in his home.[4] Four

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1. Scottish Ladies' Association Report 1843 P.6.
2. Calcutta Christian Advocate November 7, 1840. P.216.
3. Marcus B. Fuller : Wrongs of Indian Womanhood P.194, 216.
4. S. Tattvabhushan : Social Reform in Bengal, P.12.

years later he sheltered a few in his home and instructed them with other members of his family.[1] In 1887 this developed into the Home for Hindu Widows which provided the model for later foundations by Rama Bai, Annie Besant and the Arya Samaj.[2] In law at least the position of the Indian widows was satisfactory and their handicaps in practice arose out of seclusion and ignorance; not even prostitution could dissolve the widow's tie with her husbands' family and in no circumstances could she be deprived of that part of her property which is called Stridhan.[3] Miss Cornelia Sorabjee goes on to assert that "the position of Hindu widows is not such as the general public in the West has believed it to be. The Indian woman has, generally speaking, greater rights to property than the English married woman in like circumstance had before 1935, and far less hazard and insecurity in widowhood."[4]

Social prejudices, however, die hard. Widow remarriage was no doubt legal but it was generally difficult to find suitable persons to conduct the ceremony.[5] It was partly to encourage widows to remarry that the Civil Marriage Act of 1872[6] was passed.[7]

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1. Ibid. P.15.
2. Ibid.
3. Cornelia Sorabji : India Recalled P.32.
4. Cornelia Sorabji : India Recalled P.32. Mrs. Flora Anne Steele collaborates this: "In the eye of the law, woman in India whether in rural or in Urban communities, has always had a more independent personality than she had been allowed in the West." /Indian Magazine and Review July 1894/.
5. A. Mayhew: Christianity and the Government of India. P.225.
6. See P.665.
7. J.N.Farquhar : Modern Religious Movements in India. P.48.

The campaign against polygamy was contemporaneous with the movement for Widow-Remarriage and was also led by Vidya Sagar who had witnessed its evil effects on one of his own relatives.[1] He drew up a petition signed by about 25,000 people to declare the custom illegal and presented it to the Legislative Council through the Maharajah of Burdwan. Sir J.P. Grant promised to introduce a Bill in 1857 but the Mutiny intervened.[2]

In 1866 Vidyasagar took the matter up again and secured 21,000 signatures to a petition to the Lieut. Governor of Bengal, Sir Cecil Beadon, declaring that the practice was not sanctioned by the scriptures. Beadon, however, deemed legislation inadvisable without an enquiry.[3] The Government was averse to legislation for various reasons and relied upon a change in public opinion. Vidyasagar wrote a pamphlet in 1872, denouncing the practice and remained a strong opponent of it even in face of persecution. Polygamy, however, was never practised on a wide scale,[4] and under the influence of the reformers declined still further.

Child-marriage was another target of the reformist attack. "The Law Commissioners, who drafted the Indian Penal Code in 1846, appear to have first conceived the idea of making intercourse between husband and wife, below a given age, an offence.

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1. S.C.Mitra: Life of I.C.Vidyasagar P.555.
2. C.E.Buckland : Bengal under the Lieut. Governors. Vol. 1. P.324.
3. Ibid.
4. Flora Anne Steele in Indian Magazine and Review July 1894, P.349

The Indian Penal Code enacted in 1860 included the offence under rape, and prescribed a punishment which might extend to transportation for life for the husband who consummated the marriage when his wife was below ten years of age."[1] It is useful to remember that at the time the age of consent in England was thirteen years.[2] But information about the age of girls was difficult to obtain[3] and prosecutions were almost non-existent. Only public opinion could make the law effective and the reformers sought to sense it in favour of raising the marriage-age, pointing out the adverse physical effects of early marriage on the Constitution of the race. They also opposed the heavy expenditure which often made the father of daughters bankrupt.

The reformers favouring widow-remarriage, abolition of polygamy and raising the age of consent won a limited legislative victory in 1872. The Civil Marriage Act of that year, passed particularly for the convenience of the Brahmos, abolished child marriage and accepted the minimum age prescribed by the Samaj, fourteen for girls and eighteen for boys. Polygamy was declared illegal but inter-caste and widow-marriages were legalised. Nor were the benefits of the Act confined to Brahmos; any two parties declaring their disbelief

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1. Age of Consent Committee Report, India, 1928-29 P.9.
2. Mrs. M.B.Fuller: Wrongs of Indian Womanhood, P.195.
3. Age of Consent Committee Report, India, 1928-29, P.20.

in any of the Indian religions before the Registrar could have their union legalised.[1] Though the law did not affect the majority of Indians, even among them the new ideas were making headway tending to weaken or modify long established custom.[2]

Education thus led to religious and social reform which in turn favoured its extension. The printing-press was the chief vehicle employed to voice the new ideas and in India the 19th century saw an outburst of pamphleering literature comparable with that of the 18th century England. This led to a revival of the vernaculars, and cheaper books and magazines favoured the spread of instruction. The fact that there was something easily accessible to read which touched their daily lives not only encouraged the people to be literate but also made possible the formulation and voicing of public opinion on any particular issue.[3] In a sense, therefore, the growth of periodical literature is also an index to the popularity of instruction and deserves some attention.

The Missionaries were the first to introduce the printing-press into India. In order to reach the common people they had to learn the vernaculars and then came the more difficult task of translating the Bible and compiling dictionaries. By 1823 they had translated

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1. Siva Nath Sastri : The History of the Brahma Samaj Vol. 1. P.245-51
   J.N.Farquhar : Modern Religious Movements in India P. 48.
2. See Appendix.
   Report on Public Instruction, Bengal, 1876-77 P.78
3. R. Rickards : State of India 1829-32 Vol. II P.376

the Bible into all the principal languages of India.[1] They also published hymns, catechisms, Prayer Books, elementary school-books and thousands of pamphlets and 'fly-leaves' for free distribution.[2] The impetus thus given to a revival of the Indian languages has been generously acknowledged by a Bengali writer : "Bengal had a language and literature of its own long before the missionaries even dreamt of coming out to this country. Yet this language had decayed and the literature had been forgotten. In order to understand what he did for our literature, we must recollect in what state he found it when he made his first start. There was hardly any printed book; manuscripts were rare; and all artistic impulse or literary tradition was almost extinct. To Carey belongs the credit of having raised the language from its debased condition of an unsettled dialect to the character of a regular and permanent form of speech, capable as in the past of becoming the refined and comprehensive vehicle of a great literature in the future. Poetry there was enough in ancient Bengali literature; there was a rudiment of prose too, not widely known or cultivated. But Carey's was indeed one of the earliest attempts to write simple and regular prose for the expression of everyday thoughts of the nation. Other writers contemporaries with him like Ram Basu, or Mritunjay took Persian or Sanskrit as their

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1. Baptist Missionary Society Annual Report 1823 P.36-8.

2. W. Taylor's Memoirs P.223 (Report of the Tamil Mission Press vepery, 1820).

model and their prose in consequence became somewhat quaint, affected and elaborate, but the striking feature of Carey's prose in its simplicity. It is pervaded by a strong desire for clearness and for use, and by a love of the language itself. Such pioneer Carey was, and enviably fitted for this work he was by his acquirements, as well as by his position."[1]

The activities of the Missionaries brought into play Indian initiative and enterprise.[2] Sometimes the two races co-operated; at other times, they indulged in violent controversy. Leaving aside the Bengal Gazette, Marshman's Samachar Darpan started in 1818, was the first vernacular newspaper in India.[3] It was the chief organ of propaganda of the Serampore Missionaries. A year later the Sungbad Kaumudi was founded to voice the views of progressive Hindus.[4] The Brahmanical Magazine (1821) though short-lived, was frankly anti-missionary.[5] Chandrika founded in the same year, was the voice of orthodox Hinduism, vigorously defending Sati and other Hindu practises.[6]

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1. Calcutta Review Vol. XXVI, P.914, P.920 3rd Series.
2. As for example in the School Societies and School Book Societies in the different provinces. See page
3. J. Long : Returns Relating to Native printing-presses from the Records of the Bengal Government /Church of Scotland Pamphlet No. 187
4. Ibid.
5. The Calcutta Review Vol. XIII Jan-June 1850 P.145-50.
6. Ibid.

Its tone was markedly different from other newspapers and magazines of the time. The growth of the Indian Press was one of the most remarkable features of the 19th century. From its weak beginnings, it developed into a mighty instrument of propaganda as shown by the following tables :-

Number of Licensed Periodical and Printing-Presses:[1]

PRESIDENCY	YEAR	NO. OF PUBLICATION		PRINTING PRESSES	
		EUROPEAN	INDIAN	EUROPEAN	INDIAN
BENGAL	1814 1820 1830	1 5 31	Nil Nil 8	5	1
MADRAS	1814 1820 1830	5 8 8	None " "	- - 2	None None None
BOMBAY	1814 1820 1830	4 4 12	None 2 4	- - 6	2

STATISTICS OF NEWS-PAPERS IN INDIA IN 1875[2]

Province	Vernacular	Anglo-Vernacular	Total	English
Bengal	88	14	102	49
Madras	26	32	58	31
Bombay	66	20	86	37
N.W.P.	58	7	65	13
Punjab	31	1	32	7
C.P.	3	3	6	3
Ondh	14	4	18	3
Sind	3	1	4	4
Rajputana	2	1	3	0
			374	147

1. Calcutta Intellegencer July 1832 Vol. I.P. 96.
2. The Calcutta Review Vol. LXIV-LXV. P.362.

Although the number of subscribers was not as large as might have been expected, because of the general poverty, the practice of "clubbing" was universal in India and one copy was read by many.[1] It is interesting to note that the Vernacular press was strongest in those parts where the English papers were also more numerous.[2]

The state of the Press also confirms the conclusions previously stated with regard to girls' education. The Press was strongest in those Provinces where education had taken the strongest root. Thus the Anglicised Parsi population and the martial character of Bombay's inhabitants gave it a press which was much more vigorous than that of Calcutta. The large floating population of Bombay had become the gateway of India and strengthened its English press.[3] The large rural population of Madras accounted for the weakness of the press there. "Nowhere in India, perhaps are the native newspapers less potent in their influence on the people than in Madras."[4] In the North Western Provinces and the Punjab there were few Europeans and hence the English press was small. The Vernacular papers were more numerous but they were not independent. They were subsidised and, therefore, controlled by the Government. Instead of discussing internal affairs as papers did elsewhere, they took up foreign affairs, particularly Russia and Afghanistan.[5]

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1. The Calcutta Review 1877 Vol. LXIV-LXV P.363.
2. The Calcutta Review 1877 Vol. LXIV-LXV P.373
3. Ibid. P.377
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid. Chapter V.

It would be remembered how girls' education there had progressed and receded according to the amount of money the Government spent on it.[1]

Almost equally notable was the increase in the number of printed books in circulation. Significant as the numerical increase was, the variety of books written was still more remarkable. Books on history, travel, music, geography and moral philosophy.[2] Competed with the poems, plays and novels of Eshwar Chandra Gupta, Michael Madhusudan Dutt and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee in popularity.[3]

It is true that few of the periodicals and books were specially written for women. The Stribodh of Gujerat, founded in 1857, was the earliest women's magazine published in India. The Parsi women were among its chief contributors.[4] The Bambodhini Patrika, the organ of the Bambodhini Sabha for "the improvement of the women of Bengal" followed in 1863.[5] Two others, the Pancharika and Khristo Mohila were devoted to the same purpose.[6] The Maharani of South India was illustrated.[7]

Preparation of books for women readers was also encouraged. A grant of £500 was given partly "to enable the Education Department to give a direct impulse to the dissemination of useful books and periodicals prepared for native girls' schools, and for circulation in the Zenanas of native gentlemen."[8] It was decided to apply the

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1. See Chapter V. P.350
2. The Calcutta Review Vol. XXXIV. P. LXXXIII
3. Ibid. 1894 Vol. XCII. P.117 Siva Nath Sastri : Life of Ram Tarru Lahiri P.129
4. Papers on Indian Social Reform P.110.
5. Mary Carpenter : Six Months in India Vol. 1 P.271-72 Papers on Indian Social Reform P.109
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Moral and Material Progress of India Report 1864-65 P.57.

David Hare Memorial Fund to the "preparation of standard works in the Bengali language calculated to elevate the female mind."[1] Catalogues of books suitable for women readers were compiled and published.[2]

Important as these specialised productions were, the general works had much more influence. Thus Pandit Siva Nath Sastri wrote : "But the attention of the educated portion of our females is not confined to these three ladies' journals; many of them are regular and careful readers of other monthly magazines of higher pretensions, whose columns also bear their occasional contributions. Foremost amongst this class of writers are some of the ladies of the Tagore family of Jorasanko, one of whom has won a name for herself as an authoress of considerable merit. These monthly and other publications are helping to create a stimulus in many female minds and steadily raising the level of their intelligence."[3] Another writer also testified to the same effect : "The influence of these books is already visible in the character of some of the people, and even made itself felt in the seclusion of the Zenana. This is one of the mightiest weapons in aid of female education. Where the European is excluded, the silent but all powerful book will find an entrance; and if the subject be at once interesting and serious, the writing amusing and elevating, who can tell the change that may come over the native female society."[4]

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1. Mitra P.C. : Life of David Hare P.107
2. Calcutta School Society 28th Report P.11
3. Indian Magazine 1882 P.326
4. The Calcutta Review Vol. XXXIV. P.LXXVI

In fact the circulation of books, periodicals, and newspapers was by far the most important means of keeping the girls literate. Literacy in their case was not essential to livelihood and what the girls had learnt in the few years they were at school was easily forgotten. Even today the Indian Education Authorities seem not to have given adequate consideration to the fact that it is not so difficult to get girls to attend schools as to keep them literate after they have left. In a dynamic industrial society literacy is essential for the daily business of living and getting about; in the agricultural society of India, where women and girls mainly stayed in the home, ability to read and write was seldom necessary. What is not used is easily forgotten and hence it was more essential to make fuller provision for libraries, reading-rooms and clubs circulating books. The Zenana teaching did something towards maintaining their interest in reading after they had left school. But it was not enough. It should have been realised that it was no use teaching girls to read and write if they were to lapse after a few years. Much of the value of the efforts that have been described in this thesis was negatived by this fact.[1]

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1. Whitehead H. : Indian Problems P.167

According to an official estimate forty per cent pupils throughout India became illiterate within five years of their leaving school; the figure was higher for country districts, being in the neighbourhood of sixty per cent. It is not difficult to see that girls must have particularly swelled the numbers of those becoming illiterate.

Perhaps the most outstanding result of the penetration of English education was the emergence of a highly anglicised minority, particularly in the Presidency towns, of men and women who wholeheartedly accepted English etiquette. These were different from the overwhelming majority of Indians whose personal lives were little affected by what they learnt at School and saw at work. Sasipada Bannerjee was the pioneer in Bengal of this new elite. In 1861-62 he flouted Pardah by teaching his wife and Sister-in-law in full view of his family.[1] Five years later he took his wife to a meeting and party given by Dr. and Mrs. Goodeve Chakarvarti in honour of Miss Mary Carpenter's visit,[2] On May 3rd, 1868, Mr. and Mrs. Bannerjee called on Mr. Justice and Mrs. Phear by previous appointment and on their way back visited, the Chitpur Hospital. "This was the first time for a Hindu lady to visit a public institution and roused the orthodox community so much as to find expression in a satire published in the Hindu Patriot of 18th June, 1868, "Out with thy wife, my boy".[3]

The wife of Satyendra Nath Tagore, the first Indian to enter the I.C.S., was presented to Lady Lawrence at the opening Durbar of 1866. She wore Indian dress and excited much admiration. "The event was considered as an important one in social progress."[4].

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1. S. Tattvabhushan: Social Reform in Bengal P.58.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Mary Carpenter: Six Months in India vol.1. Page 220.21.

Man Mohan Ghose, the first Indian Barrister, gave a party at his residence to bid farewell to Mr. Justice and Mrs. Phear. The Lieut. Governor was present and so were a large number of Bengali ladies. Some of these who spoke English mixed freely with Europeans. But Rani Surnamayi and the Rani of Naydo were not present, although they were the Chief Signatories to the address presented to Mrs. Phear by Mrs. Man Mohan Ghose. According to the Calcutta Englishman this was the first mixed party at which Bengali ladies were present, "a practical illustration of the progress female education had made in Bengal."[1]

At the meetings of the Brahma Samaj, the more progressive members did not insist on seclusion and allowed their wives and daughters to sit among men.[2] Some of the Brahmos even went as far as to accept food from European women who were teaching them.[3]

However, every step had to be closely watched, public opinion was vigilant and critical. The Satire inspired by Sasipada's visit to the hospital has already been noticed; the visit of the Prince of Wales to a z enana in 1875 caused another sensation. Toru Dutt wrote to her friend Miss Martin: "There is a great deal of talk at present about a Bengali gentleman, a pleader, B. Juggodanundo Mukherjee, because he permitted the Prince to see his zenana. All the papers conducted by the natives are loudly crying against this "outrage on Hindu society". The Prince did not visit any private gentleman at his own house, and only went to B. Mukerjee's because

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1. Journal of National Indian Association June 1876, Page 175-77.
2. Siva Nath Sastri: Life of Ram Tanu Lahiri, Page 140-41.
3. Scottish Ladies Society, Free Church, Report 1867, page 11.

he was promised that he would there be shown a real zenana of native ladies of high position. This "scandalous behaviour", as the papers say of the above mentioned Babu is unpardonable in the eyes of the greater number of Hindus. The Daily News of Calcutta had a very sensible article on the subject. It is said that if the Babu means to bring out his family, as in English Society every European does, and let his friends visit and mingle with his family, as behoves civilised men and manners, he is a very well meaning man, and his aims are very laudable; but if he has only made an exception for the Prince and his Suite, and means to"lock up" his wife and family, as all Hindus do, his allowing the Prince to visit his family is a bit of flunkeyism, quite unpardonable and worthy of the highest disapprobation. Is this not sensibly and fairly put?"[1].

That, however, was not the end of thematter. "The visit of the Prince to B.J. Mukherjee's zenana has been made into a farce and acted at the native theatre under the title of Guzadanundo. This was very bad action on the part of the managers of the theatre, and Lord Northbrook has very rightly put a stop to it, and by an ordinance has empowered the Lieut. Governor to suppress any play which is likely to create any disaffection against the British rule, also any play which the Lieut. Governor thinks unusual and unfit to be represented."[2].

The transition at Bombay was much smoother . Relations between Indians and Europeans in that Presidency were always very much more cordial than anywhere else in India.[2].

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1. H. Das: Life and Letters of Toru Dutt Page 127.
2. Bombay Provincial Education Committee Report 1884., Vol. II, Page 478.

At Surat alone of all places did social intercourse extend to European women and Indian men.[1] The Parsi Community tended to bridge the gulf between Indians and Europeans. As early as 1850 Mrs. Colin Mackenzie noted that many Parsis took their wives out driving with them, "but as yet only in closed carriages."[2] A later writer noted that "the Parsi mode of life may be described to be an eclectic ensemble, half-European and half-Hindu. As they advance every year in Civili-Sation and enlightenment, they copy more closely English manners and modes of living"[3] The Mahratta women enjoyed greater freedom than their Hindu sisters in other parts of India and were excellent riders.

Hence social relations at Bombay between the races were more cordial, more genuine and more common. The Rani of Jumkhundee visited the Government House. In 1866 she and the Maharajah gave a farewell party to the retiring Governor, Sir Bartle Frere, and "she herself received the European guests."[4] Mr. Vinayak Wassoodew, Sheriff of Bombay, took his daughters to a Ball at the Government House.[5] "Another Hindu gentleman brought his ladies to call at the Government House by appointment."[6] Even the Prince of Wales' visit caused no fuss, "Parsee maidens, daughters of rich and influential men in Bombay, went before him, scattering flowers and singing a welcome", and Toru admiringly recorded that "the Parsee ladies are far ahead of our Bengali ones."[7]

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1. P. Spear: The Nabobs, 126-28; 134-5.
2. Mrs. Colin Mackenzie: Life in a zenana, Vol.III, page 126.
3. D.F. Karaka: History of the Parsees, page 123.
4. Mary Carpenter: Six months in India, Vol.II, page 2.
5. Ibid. page 4.
6. Ibid.
7. H. Das: Life and Letters of Toru Dutt, page 117.

A beginning was even made in the United Provinces, the home of orthodoxy and conservatism. In 1873 Miss Hamilton of Lucknow gave a zenana party and only seven Indian women turned up. Two years later sixty came without much persuasion. They talked freely and sensibly and the hosts noted that their shyness and conservatism had been grossly exaggerated.[1]

It is easy to criticise the superficiality and formality of the social relations described above. But in a country where racial arrogance on indifference on the one hand[2] and orthodoxy and conservatism on the other tended to divide the Europeans and Indians into watertight compartments, even this limited contact was welcome. It must have tended to soften some of the racial bitterness reflected in the vernacular press on the treatment of

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1. Indian Female Evangelist, Vol.II page 268.
2. J.E. Dawson: Englishwoman in India - Her Influence and Responsibilities in the Calcutta Review Vol. 83, 1886, page 369. "We fear that from the foregoing cursory survey of her influence in her home, in society, and on the native population, the conclusion must, however reluctantly, be arrived at that in a great majority of instances the women of England have not done justice to the high prestige of their country's position, nor have they very generally been awake to the responsibilities thus entailed ..... vanity, and the love of display, have too often robbed her of her claim to due reverence; and while her selfish love of ease and pleasure makes many an Indian's so-called home but the phantom of its English antitype, to the great work of India's enlightenment, she stands in a position of absolute neutrality."

Indians by Europeans. Besides it also showed that education was making some impression and at least in a few instances people felt the need to alter th their way of living. W.S. Blunt one of the keenest and most sympathetic observers of Indian scene visiting the country during Lord Ripon's viceroylty accurately gauged the situation when he wrote:-

"I am not one of those who love the East only in its picturesque aspects and I have no quarrel with Europe because it has caused the East to change. I note, indeed, the destruction of much that was good and noble of profit in the past by the unthinking and often selfish action of Western methods; but I do not wish the past back in its integrity, or regret the impulse given to a new order there of thought and action. I know that time never really goes back upon its steps, and no one more readily accepts than myself the Doctrine that what is gone in human history is irrevocably gone, on the contrary, I see in the connection of East and West a circumstance ultimately of profit to both; and while the beauty of its old world is being fast destroyed and the ancient order of its institutions subverted, I look forward with unbounded expectation to the new cosmos which shall be constructed from the ruins. I am anxious, indeed, to save what can still be saved of the indigenous plan, and to use in reconstruction something of the same materials; but I see that the new edifice may well be made superior to the old and I should be altogether rejoiced if it should be my lot to share, however humbly, in the work of its rebuilding."

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1. W.S. Blunt: Ideas about India, page 74-75.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

By 1882 the machinery in British India for extending western education to girls had been completed and a woman was not disqualified from proceeding to any University degree or examination by virtue of her sex. But judged by the nature of instruction given, by the proportion of educational institutions to the population needing instruction, or by the proper distribution of those institutions, the provision for girls' education was much less adequate than for boys. Indeed girls lagged far behind boys in general literacy and even more so in advanced studies.

The reasons for the slower development of education among girls lay partly in Indian Social and Economic Conditions and partly in the character of the education provided. Early marriage, seclusion, and the joint family system which precluded women, whether widows, wives, or daughters from the necessity of earning their living outside the home, put a premium on their instruction. The general poverty of the Country, and the relatively static nature of an agricultural society which did not make literacy so essential for daily living further slowed down the pace.[1]

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1. Furthermore India was and is one of the very few countries where there are more men than women:-

/Calcutta Review Vol. 51, 1870, Page 46/

Province.	% of males in total popn.	% of males in adult popn.	% of males among children.	% of children in total popn.
Punjab.	54.48	54.52	54.24	35.42
N. W. P.	53.62	52.4	55.8	35.6
Ondh.	51.8	50.5	54.3	36.0
Benares.	51.7	51.2	53.1	35.7
C.P.	51.2	49.9	53.0	39.9
Bengal (Experimental)	51.01	49.23	54.17	35.9

It must be remembered that non-educational influences favouring the spread of instruction such as steam power and railways, the telegraph, cheap and uniform postage, municipal institutions, the press, improved legislation, and equality before the law, were slow to permeate the daily lives of the people.

In fact, the impact of Western civilisation on India in the nineteenth century had much more in common with the European Reanissance of the sixteenth centry, than with contemporary Europe. The New Learning in both cases affected the rising middle-classes and demanded the remedying of flagrant and anachronistic abuses. The Reformation was the sequel to the Renaissance, resulting from the application of the new ideas to religion. In India, too, vigorous movements for religious and social reform followed the revival of literary activity in the nineteenth century. In both cases the ideas received considerably greater publicity than ever before because of the Printing-press, but in each case the new learning reached only a tiny minority of the whole population. In strong contrast with this, nineteenth century Europe saw mass-movements which had no corresponding parallel in India where the life of the masses was little modified. But there was one marked difference between Renascent Europe and nineteenth century India, whereas the Renaissance depressed the status of women in Europe, the impulse to girls' education in India coming close upon the European Feminist Movements apparently tended to raise their social and legal standing.

But this also handicapped the progress of instruction among girls in India. Dominated by the idea of proving themselves equal to men, the British Feminists tended to blur sex-differences and laid more emphasis on the powers

of reasoning and subjects studied by the boys and objected to differentiation of curriculum. This made the new education even more unrelated to the environment of Indian girls than was the case with boys. Moreover, it made a synthesis between the East and West more difficult for it was less likely to be achieved in the realm of reasoning and controversy than in art, music and poetry which the new education tended to neglect.

This tendency was accentuated by the policies of the missionaries and the Government. The former saw in education not so much an instrument to bring out the latent possibilities of the individual child but an excellent means to draw her away from the religion of her birth. For this reason missionaries failed to assimilate the pre-Christian heritage of Hinduism and Islam in India. They deliberately ignored the folk-lore of the Country - one of the most powerful means of imparting ideas of lasting value. As a result complaints of denationalisation were often made against the products of the new education. What could have been achieved by making a fuller use of Indian ideals is shown by the Poetry of Toru Dutt who, though a Christian, turned to Indian sources for her ballads.

The Secularist policy of the Government starved the imagination, encouraged cramming and rendered girls' education almost ineffective and irrelevant in the Indian atmosphere. Developing under these influences, female education was largely an exotic growth. Social and economic factors cut across purely educational ones, success depended not so much upon the perfection of the plan as upon the personality of those responsible for its execution. Hence the growth of the movement was not uniform and few generalisations can be made about the whole of India. It was largely an Urban

Middle Class Movement and took strongest roots among those who, being closest to the new rulers, sought to evolve a social system in conformity with modern European ideas. The Parsis, the Christians, the Government officials of all religions, the Nairs in the South and the Mahrattas of Western India were perhaps foremost is giving their women the advantages of the new education, the women of the last two traditionally enjoyed greater independence.

The "Practical Philanthropy" of the West transplanted its "highly organised institutions", educational and others in India and supplied a valuable corrective. It is true that the means were not always adapted to the ends nor were the ends defined anew in accordance with Indian traditions, but by the close of our period there was a growing inclination by the Government, the Missionaries and the Indians to take into account the peculiar customs of the Country and to evolve a system of education for Indian women more in harmony with their environment.

For the next half a century the education of Indian women in fact developed along the lines laid down in this formative period, the pace being quickened by the rise of political consciousness. Indian methods of political agitation, the Satyagraha, Civil disobedience and passive resistence, were particularly adapted to the genius of Indian women and played a similar roll in their emancipation as the cycle, the cinema, the type-writer and the radio in that of the Western woman.

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APPENDIX I

Letter from Mr. Harrington to Mr. Pearce, dated Harrow, Middx. December 19th, 1820.

"Dear Sir,

By a letter from you to Dr. Schwabe, dated 30th May last, I observe that you have been appointed the Corresponding Secretary of the Calcutta School Society; I therefore address to you a letter which I was about to write to Mr. Montague.

The Missionary Register for October last, as well as my previous communications to Captain Irvine, will have prepared the Calcutta School Society to expect a female coadjutor in the execution of their benevolent design to promote, as far as practicable, the education of the rising generation of the natives of India. To what extent it may, at present, be possible to give instruction to female children is, I fear, too uncertain to admit of any sanguine expectations of immediate success. But if the Calcutta School Society have been encouraged to make the attempt, (as Captain Irvine informed me they meant to do in the course of this year,) it is desirable that they should receive utmost aid and support. I cannot therefore but rejoice that there is a prospect of

their humane endeavours being seconded by a European school-mistress of approved character and qualifications, as well as of known piety and zeal to do good. Her name is Miss Cooke; and further particulars respecting her will be communicated to you by Mr. Millar, Assistant Secretary to the British and Foreign School Society; who mentions her to me as "having for some time felt a strong desire to be useful in a more public way than hitherto, and to devote herself to the instruction of the ignorant, particularly abroad." He acquaints me also that nearly £300 have been collected towards the expense of equipping her, and paying the expense of her voyage to Bengal, and appears confident that a sufficient sum would be raised; you may therefore, I think, expect her in the course of the ensuing year; and on her arrival she will, I understand, be at the disposal of the Calcutta School Society. Should they, under any circumstances, not have occasion to avail themselves of her services, they will, I am sure, either collectively or individually, see her placed in a situation where her talents and her knowledge may be rendered useful to the female descendants of the Europeans at Calcutta or in its vicinity. This is all I have

taken upon myself to engage for, in any conversations with Mr. Millar on the subject; and this pledge the Society will, I feel assured, be willing to redeem; whether their design of promoting the education of female children in Calcutta be carried into immediate effect or otherwise; I trust, however, this important extension of the Society's operations has been undertaken; and that it may please God to prosper and bless it to the advancement of his glory, and the moral improvement of a numerous and most destitute class of his creatures.

Referring you to Mr. Millar for all further particulars, I will only add that I shall be anxious to hear from you on this interesting subject, and to know that what has been done by the British and Foreign School Society, partly but not exclusively, at my suggestion, (Mr. Ward having, I believe, recommended the measure in the first instance) is approved and well received by the kindred institution at Calcutta.

I am, my dear sir, with a grateful sense of the kind mention made of me in your letter to Dr. Schwabe, and with a cordial desire to promote the interests and objects of the Society to which you are attached by all the means in my power, Yours very truly,

J. H. Harrington. "

Harrow, Middx. Dec.19,1820.

APPENDIX II

It was resolved that:

(i) The education of native females is an object highly desirable, and worthy of the best exertions of all who wish well to the happiness and prosperity of India.

(ii) The system introduced in this country by Mrs. Wilson has been pursued by her under the patronage of the Church Missionary Society, with a degree of success, which could hardly have been anticipated by those who were aware of the novelty and apparent difficulty of the undertaking, and is capable of extension and improvement, only limited by the want of sufficient funds for its prosecution on a scale commensurable to its objects....

(iii) In order to render Mrs. Wilson's labours yet more effectual and to meet the feelings of the respectable natives of India, by rendering the establishment more exclusively female, it is expedient that the affairs and the government of these schools now existing, or hereafter to be established in connection with them in Calcutta and its vicinity, be placed under the Superintendence and control of a certain number of ladies, Patronesses and Visitors who may be inclined to give a portion of their time to this interesting and laudable object; and (it being

understood that the Church Missionary Society are willing to relinquish the entire management and direction of their Female Schools in Calcutta and its vicinity) the following ladies hereby undertake that office under the designation of The Ladies Society for Native Female Education in Calcutta and its Vicinity.

Patroness

Rt. Hon. Lady Amherst

Vice-Patronesses

Mrs. Heber
" Feudall
" Harrington
" W. Feudall

Mrs. Lushington
" H. Shakespeare
" Ballard
" Newton

Committee

Mrs. Thomason
" Parish
" Hovenden
" Corrie
" Laprimaudaye
" Griffin

Mrs. Chesney
" Gisborne
Miss Laprimaudaye
" Blenchynden
" Vos
" Turner

Secretary: Mrs. Ellerton Treasurer: G. Ballard Esq.

APPENDIX III

"You will probably have heard of the vote in the Committee on Friday last respecting the appointment of a secretary and agent for the Association. Mr. Wilson was appointed by a majority of 16 to 13, the minority being in favour of Mr. Bayne who has been acting for some time as a missionary in one of the parishes in Strathbogie.

"The vote was between a marked party man and one who has no party distinction and on this account was just what should have taken place. But Mr. Wilson is in every way fitted for the office - an evangelical preacher, a good man, a zealous friend of missions and of accredited business habits in which he has considerable experience. If allowed peaceably and without vexation to prosecute the work of the Association, he will prove, I doubt not, an able and successful agent.

"The scene at the election was one of the oddest I have ever witnessed. You are aware of the keen canvas previously gone through. There was accordingly a full muster not only of the Committee but of the Presidents too. Conceive, then, the forms round the walls occupied by the ladies in two distinct bands, the members of each party whispering and conferring with one another, and the table in the centre of the room

with one end encompassed by the gentlemen.

"Doctor Brunton, solemn and dignified, occupied the chair, and from time to time uttered a word or two, with consummate tact and the utmost briefness directing the proceedings. Doctor Muir, who opened the meeting with prayer, sat on the left, stately and reserved. Next him was Mr. Hunter, leaning his head on the table, either out of shame or to suppress a smile at the ludicrous aspect of the whole concern. Next to him was Mr. Brown fidgetting about until he could bear it no longer, and fairly pouncing on his hat, walked out.

"Left of the President was Mr. Bruce, his bright eyes glancing from side to side; next Dr Candlish, lolling in his chair, fixing his looks here and there in great nonchalance. I read the minutes of the sub-committee and thereafter the testimonials of the two candidates. Directly the reading was over I was instructed to take the votes of the ladies present, and the result was the election of Mr. Wilson. The President announced it, and supposed that the sub-committee would be empowered to make all necessary arrangements. He then called on Mr. Hunter to conclude the meeting and the gentlemen walked away, followed by the majority. At the door I was called back by Lady Hume and I had a little conversation with the minority. They appeared

to be in the utmost perplexity and most indignant at the result and apparently resolved not to submit to the decision threatening either to leave the Association altogether, or set up a new one, and call upon the country auxiliaries to join them. I spoke as strongly as I could in condemnation of their intemperate and senseless zeal, and in favour of Mr Wilson.

"I left them in the midst of their confabulations, Lady Colquhoun, Mrs. A. Bonar, Miss Bayne, Lady Hume, Miss Robertson, etc., talking together loudly and earnestly as to what they must do to 'testify' against the wickedness of the Association in appointing an 'unsound' man. What is to be the result of this I cannot divine. I feel some alarm lest the effect on contributions should be disastrous. I trust and pray that this evil may be averted. The sound thinking part of the Committee must exert themselves to neutralise the threatened evil. It would be well to apprise some of the ladies connected with the Country Auxiliaries - such I mean as could be trusted - of what has happened, and get them to take measures accordingly. You will in this way have something in your power. I have been asked to furnish Mrs. A. Bonar with a copy of the minutes of the meeting on Friday. This looks as if ulterior proceedings were contemplated." (Quoted in A. Swan: Seed Time and Harvest, p.64-67)

APPENDIX IV

Letter from the Rev. Mr. Grant to Mr. Nelson, dated Madras, 8th May, 1847.

"Yet one or two such cases more, followed by similar decisions, and the cause of female Hindu education in Madras will, there is reason to fear, be at an end. Our Missionary halls will be emptied never to be filled again, - at least not for a very long period indeed..... At one missionary institute I understand there are no profits at all. Indeed, I am informed the teachers have been dismissed for three or four months: when, it is expected, the alarm may have somewhat decreased..... If we take into view that the Hindus are at this very time making more vigorous efforts than ever to establish schools in which their children may be taught without the risk of being influenced by scriptural instructions, it will appear that the interests of the Gospel are in considerable hazard at present. Indeed, were it not that European energy is necessary to superintend seminaries where natives are employed as teachers, our numbers even in the boys' institution, would be small indeed. As yet however, they have not obtained that requisite European agency, and I trust we may by and by recover from this shock, and that Prudence may be manifested by all the missionaries in

their dealings with the young natives who form our female classes. It is necessary. Fixed as we are by the nature of our institution to one locality, we cannot easily remove to another city when persecuted or, if not persecuted, when our seminaries are avoided and our instructions detested by the natives in any one in which we may have taken our abode. Paul could thank God that he had not baptised any of the Corinthians except one or two; and he could declare that Christ sent him not to baptise, but to preach the Gospel (1 Cor.i.14-17) It would be well that we, like him, though for a different reason, could obtain baptism for any of the converts that might appear entitled to it, by the instrumentality of others rather than by ourselves. But there is considerable difficulty here, and greatly do we need Divine Guidance, that the Gospel do not suffer through means of us.....

"I daresay I need hardly state that the procedure which led to this sudden and unexpected arrestment in the Christian instruction of the Hindu girls is very generally blamed by the various missionary bodies here. Indeed, in so far as my knowledge extends, it is universally disapproved of by them. To them it seems very hard that hundreds of girls - of immortal beings - belonging to different institutions should be thrown back into heathenism and superstition for the sake of a very

few. While of those hundreds there may be a considerable number really just as near the Kingdom of Heaven as the latter. And granting that some who having left should in a few months return, it is likely the instruction they had previously received will be to a great extent forgotten. Thus not only are the teachers, and the various machinery of our institutions remaining useless in the meantime, but their past labours for months are rendered futile.....
To me, at present, the said havoc that has taken place appears to be the language of Providence telling us in plain terms that the system that has caused it is, on the whole, not a good one, whatever advantages may be connected with it, and that we must adopt new measures, if we would not peril the evangelisation of Madras, in so far as the enlightening of the young of both sexes, by means of missionary seminaries, is concerned." (See Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland, Volume IV, p.115).

APPENDIX V

Annanda Mazoomdar

The case of Annanda Mazoomdar provides an interesting example of the social and racial problems that the Missionaries had to face. He was an Indian preacher sent to England for his education. He returned to India with "European habits" and demanded an equality of pay and treatment with the European Missionaries of the Society in India. The European missionaries favoured a compromise. Annanda was given eighty rupees per mensem (instead of the usual sixteen) which was considered a good salary for an Indian but which was half of that drawn by a European missionary. However, he seems to have been a determined man. Even though sanction had been previously refused by the Calcutta Diocesan Committee, Annanda bought himself a house, a horse and a buggy "in the manner of Europeans" and sent the bill to the Committee. The bill had to be paid as the Committee did not wish to advertise that a Christian had fallen into debt and soothed itself by preaching to Annanda "a homily on the sin of borrowing". This was, however, not the end. Annanda demanded a further increase of pay on the grounds that he intended to marry a European woman from Bristol and asked the London Missionary Society to pay for her passage to India as well. This put the missionaries in a dilemma. They could not deny

that if Annanda persisted in marrying a European, he would have to be given a raise for a European woman could not be maintained on less than what a missionary normally received but they unanimously maintained that such a course would lead to indiscipline in the Church. Though theoretically all Christians, whatever their colour, were "brethren", the state of society in India, in their opinion, offered serious objections to putting Europeans and Indians on the same footing. They therefore advised the Directors to dissuade Annanda from proceeding with his marriage but should he persist in that course, they promised to treat his wife kindly and well. The missionaries in India, anxious to wash their hands of the matter, passed on the responsibility of taking a decision on his marriage and salary to the Directors. Should the Directors feel the need for further advice they were asked to consult retired missionaries from India who were "fully conversant" with the situation. Meanwhile Annanda threatened to settle in England if his wishes were not complied with. The missionaries were less perturbed at this idea for they thought that it would be better "to withdraw him to England" than to let him upset the structure of society by permitting him to settle in India with his European wife, and on August 2nd, 1841, Annanda embarked for England.[1]

1. Correspondence relating to Annanda Mazoomdar, London Missionary Society Records; North India, Calcutta 1840: Box 6, Folder I; also East Indian Committee Minutes of the L.M.S. November 18th, 1841 and November 22nd, 1841

It would also appear that the London Missionary Society "suspended" or "retired" a European missionary on his marriage with an East Indian or Indian Christian girl. Thus the Reverend J. Cox wrote to the Directors on his marriage to a "native woman" protesting against "racial discrimination" and justifying his own conduct. He pleaded for being given some financial remuneration and quoted the case of another missionary, Mead, as a precedent.[1.]

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1. London Missionary Society Records, India, Travancore, Box 5, Folder 4, Jacket D. Letter dated September 20th, 1861.

APPENDIX V A

RULES of the SCOTTISH LADIES' ASSOCIATION. X

1. This Association shall be called "THE SCOTTISH LADIES' ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF FEMALE EDUCATION IN INDIA".

2. This Association shall have for its object to give a religious and general Education to the Females of India. For this purpose, it shall raise funds, procure information, form auxiliary branches throughout the country, and procure the services of well qualified teachers.

3. These teachers shall be appointed by the General Assembly's Committee. They shall be under the superintendence, and their operations under the control, of the Missionaries of the Church of Scotland in India.

4. Subscribers of FIVE SHILLINGS and upwards, annually, shall be Members of the Association.

5. The business of the Association shall be conducted by Presidents, a Committee, two Secretaries, and a Treasurer. Of the Committee, NINE shall be annually chosen as an ACTING SUB-COMMITTEE, who shall meet as often as business requires, and report to the General Committee at the half-yearly Meetings. A requisition to the Secretaries from THREE Members of the General Committee shall empower them to call a Meeting of that body.

6. The duties of Members of the General Committee shall be these:- First, To circulate information, with a view to excite the attention of their Christian friends to the wants and claims of the degraded Females of India; second, To collect such sums as others are inclined to give to this object, with power to appoint Collectors under them for that end.

7. Prayer Meetings shall be held every three months, to which all friendly to the cause shall be invited. Intelligence shall also then be read, or an address given, by one or more of the Presidents.

X. Scottish Ladies' Association Report, 1841.

The meetings of the General Committee shall take place in May and November. On such occasions one of the Presidents shall be requested to attend - the Collectors shall give in the contributions they have received - and the Secretaries and Treasurer shall present a statement of affairs.

An Annual Meeting shall be held, when the Report for the past year shall be presented, and addresses given.

APPENDIX VI

1. Sir Alexander Grant D.P.I Bombay in his letter No.2259 dated 2nd March, 1867 forwarded by the Governor to the Government of India, Home Department, with recommendation for a grant of Rs 30,000 from Imperial funds for female education as girls from 5 - 11 years of age could be brought under instruction.

2. Secretary, Home Department, replied that though it was the practice of Government to give considerable latitude in expenditure on female education as the subject did not admit of precise rules yet asked for a more detailed "plan, degree of co-operation and joint expenditure to be expected from the Community".

3. A. Grant in letter No.312 dated 18th May,1867 explained "the plan" as follows:-

(i) To begin with by improving the existing schools already established by local Associations & Municipal Committees and by paying teachers more.

(ii) Establish number of scholarships for girls.

(iii) Start new schools in favourable localities on the condition that the people provided a free school-house and guaranteed a minimum of 25 girls.

(Selection from Government of India LXVII P.271)

(iv) In some places fees might be levied.

He concluded that no more detailed plan could be submitted and it

was up to the Government to establish efficient schools and pioneer the way.

4. Letter No.259 from Home Secretary, Government of India dated 20th July, 1867 stated that the amount asked for was too large, and recommended the Finance Department to sanction a sum between Rs 10,000 to Rs 15,000.

5. Letter from Government of India, Financial Department (No.2074 22nd August 1867)

Resolution. "The G.G. in Council is pleased to sanction a grant of Rs 10,000 for female schools for the lower classes in Bombay, for this year only, on the distinct understanding that, from next year, the charge will be met from the Educational Association, that being the proper source from which expenditure, for educating the masses, should be met, when it is not incurred under the Grant-ineaid Rules"

(Government of India Records LXVII 1868.P.273)

6. Letter No.66 dated 5th October, 1867 from the Secretary to Government of Bombay to the Secretary, Home Department, Government of India:

The Bombay Government refused to accept the grant on these conditions and pressed again their original demand on the grounds:-

"Bombay Government can't and at any rate would consider it impolitic" to dictate to the Local Funds Committees on how the

money should be spent and consequently would not set the required sum from local sources next year as assumed by the Government of India. The letter concluded by saying that: "From the reply now received, it would appear that the Government of India decline to sanction even £1,000 p.a. as their contribution in aid of Native female education in the whole of Bombay Presidency: but as this can hardly be the case, I am to express the earnest hope of His Excellency the Governor in Council that, on reconsideration, the Government of India will not refuse to accede to the request now again made."

(Selections from the Records of Government of India Vol. LXVII P.294).

Letter No.1040 dated December 9, 1867 from Secretary, Home Department, Government of India to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay:-

2. "In reply, I am directed to point out that the Government of Bombay does not appear to apprehend clearly the Principles by which it has been found necessary to regulate grants from the Imperial revenues for education and especially for female education.

3. "The Government of India does not question that, in the present instance, a case can be made out for the profitable expenditure of the sum applied for - indeed, that a sum in excess of the entire revenues of India might beyond doubt be expended on educational purposes. But, waiving all other grounds of objection, the Imperial revenues must ever be wholly inadequate to meet the charges which any complete system of State education would involve. The Government

must, therefore, expend the amount, which alone can fairly be devoted to education, in the manner calculated to secure the most general and extensive results. As regards the education of the masses of the People especially, all the means which Government could afford would produce no perceptible effect, if applied directly to this object; and the aim of Government has, therefore, been by establishing normal schools, by grants-in-aid, by organising local taxation, by inspection of indigenous schools, and by other similar means, to stimulate and assist the people to educate themselves.

4. "It has always been the recognised policy of Government, having in view the special objects to be gained, to meet and encourage, as far as its means will permit, with more than ordinary promptness and liberality, any disposition shown by the people themselves in favour of female education. Still it is absolutely essential, not merely on financial grounds, but with regard to the real success of female education itself, to insist on genuine local co-operation, as a previous condition of State assistance. Acting upon this policy, the Government of India has invariably indicated to all local Governments the grant-in-aid system as that especially calculated for the general advancement of female education. I am to add that where the details of the local Grant-in-aid Rules may be found to obstruct their application to female schools, the Government of India is not unwilling to permit any reasonable relaxation of the usual conditions in regard to inspection, and to the payment of fees etc.,

(Letters No.1040 LXVII) P. 274.

so long as it is evident that the co-operation of the native Community has been secured, and that the education imparted is fairly efficient.

5. "In one previous instance alone has the Government of India sanctioned a grant similar to that now asked for; and in that case the grant was sanctioned for 3 years only, and in order to prevent the extinction (from a sudden deprivation of the funds by which they had been hitherto supported) of some already flourishing female schools in certain districts of the Punjab. Even in this instance the population had already given fair proof of their appreciation of the benefits of female education, and the concession was accompanied by a distinct condition that the assistance was to be only temporary, as the Grant-in-aid Principle would afford some test or pledge that the spread of female education is real and truly desired by the people of the Punjab."

(Letter No.1040 LXVII P.275)

6. "Adverting now to the statement made in the last paragraph of your letter under reply that the Government of India appears to decline to sanction even £1,000 a year in aid of Native female education in the whole Presidency of Bombay, I am to point out that the total annual assignment to Bombay for education is far larger relatively in proportion to its revenue, area, and population and excepting the grant given to Bangal, absolutely larger in amount than that made to any other Province. From this assignment it is

open to the Bombay Government to allot under the Grant-in-aid Rules any sums that may be required to promote the spread of female education either in the improvement of existing female schools or in the establishment of others. In the second place I am to call attention to the Circular of the 20th July last, in which the Government of India has promised liberal assistance to any scheme of female normal schools based on the co-operation of the Native Community; and lastly I am to remind the Government of Bombay that, in the Resolution of the 22nd August last, a special assignment of Rs 15,520 a year, for five years was sanctioned on certain conditions to establish a higher class of female normal schools in Bombay Presidency, on the principles advocated by Miss Carpenter. There would seem, therefore, to be no grounds to impute to the Government of India any want of support to measures of female education proposed for Bombay.

(Letter No.1040 LXVII P.275)

7. "In reply to the remarks contained in your 3rd and 4th paragraphs I am to point out that my letter of the 4th ultimo appears to have been misunderstood. Local funds, voluntarily raised and applied to the support of schools, are eligible for grants-in-aid. In the C.P. and in the Punjab, large use has been made of this provision for the furtherance of education. It is, of course, purely optional with the Local Committees, or other bodies by whom such funds are raised, to devote them to whatever congenial objects they choose, nor was any kind of dictation to such bodies contemplated in my letter under notice. What the Government of

India desired and distinctly expressed was simply to annex a condition to their assistance and this condition they cannot consent to waive.

8. "The Local Educational Association, however, stands on a different footing. It is not, in any sense, a voluntary contribution, but it is of the nature of an impost, and should be spent in such a manner as Government may consider best, subject only to the reservation that it be expended within the district where it is levied and for the education of those classes by which it has been paid. Its management is probably most popular and efficient, when supervised by Committees partially consisting of persons of local position and influence; but inasmuch as it is compulsorily levied by the State, the Government is bound to see that it is expended to the best advantage, and that its control is not abandoned to wholly irresponsible bodies.

9. On a general view of the whole question, and on the precedent above referred to, the Governor General in Council will not object in the present case to allow the additional grant of Rs 10,000 already sanctioned for one year for female education in the Bombay Presidency, to be continued temporarily for a further period of two years.with this assistance, it is hoped that the Bombay Government will find no greater difficulty in advancing the cause of female education than has already been successfully overcome in several other Provinces without any such direct aid from the Imperial revenues."

ẍ Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department, No.LXVII 1868 P.270-76.

APPENDIX VII

TOVU DUTT (1856 - 1876)

Tovu was the daughter of Govin Chunder Dutt. The Dutts belonged to one of the literary Castes of Bengal and the family had been associated with the pioneers of English Education. Govin's grandfather had come under the influence of Carey but had not been converted. His uncle, Rasomoy, had been educated by Alexander Duff and had served as the Secretary of the Hindu College, Judge of Small Cause Court and Commissioner of the Court of Requests - very high offices for an Indian to hold in those days. ⌘ Govin himself had come under the influence of Henry Vivian Derezio and Captain Richardson who was praised by Macaulay for his readings from Shakespeare. Govin was employed in the Accounts Department of the Government of India but as his hopes for promotion were not realized he resigned. In 1863 the whole family was converted to Christianity but the women still remained

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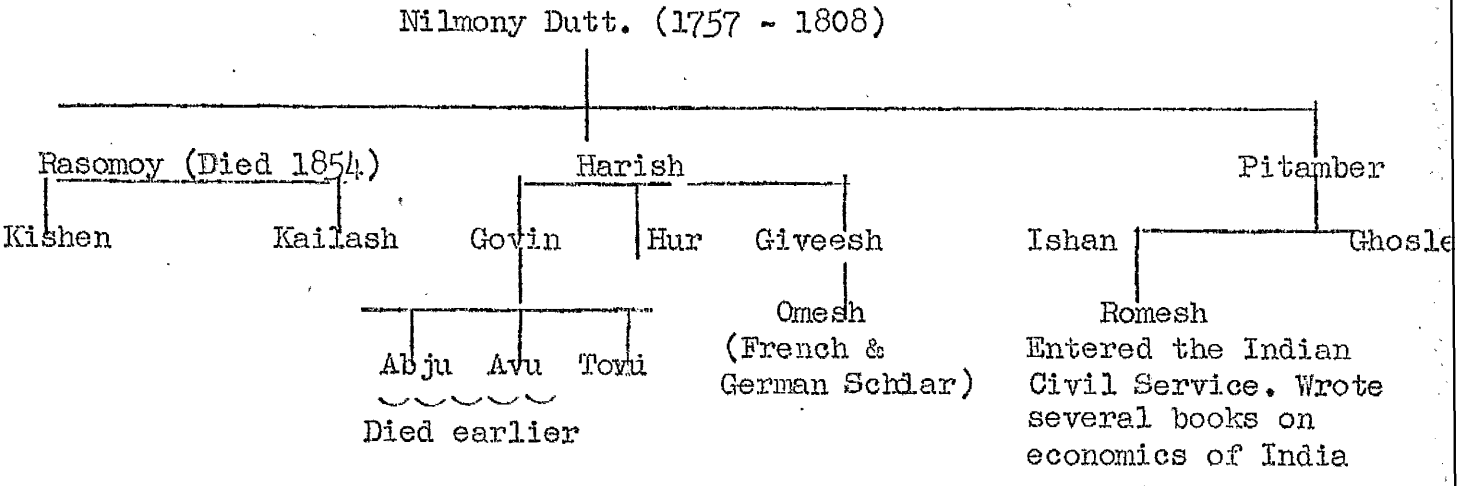
⌘ See the family Tree.



See H.Das: Life & Letters of Tovu Dutt.
and
Tovu Dutt: Sheaf from French Fields for most of the facts in this short biography.

"idolators at heart". At their husbands' entreaties they consented to continue to live with them. Their feelings are described in a poem by Govin from which a stanza might be quoted here:

"Nay part not so, one moment stay,
Repel me not with scorn
Like others will thou turn away,
And leave me quite forlorn?"

The Dutts were in close touch with the Missionaries who helped Tovu with English and Latin privately. In 1869 Govin decided to go to Europe with his family. They stayed in France and England for a while and then returned to India. But they felt stifled in the rarefied atmosphere of Calcutta. Their conversion to Christianity had alienated them from the Hindu branches of the family. With childlike simplicity Tovu wrote to her friend, "The day before yesterday my mother's cousin was married. She is a Hindu, and so is her family, so of course we were not invited." Their Anglicised social habits further widened the gulf. On the other hand, their contact with Europeans was limited to the Missionaries for others would not accept them to their society. Here again it is best to quote Tovu's own words, "We do not go much into society now. The Bengali reunions are always for men. Wives and daughters and all womenkind are confined to the house, under lock and key, a la lettre! and Europeans

are generally supercilious and look down on Bengalis. I have not been to one dinner party or any party at all since we left Europe. And then I do not know any people here, except those of our kith and kin, and some of them I do not know." The Dutts who had mixed in Society in London and Cambridge keenly felt their isolation. They planned to return to England but Tovu's sudden death at the early age of twenty-one cut it short.

Tovu in a way represents the feminine aspect of "the young Bengal" movement of late twenties and early thirties of the Century. Herself coming from a family in the forefront of English education, she had some knowledge of Sanskrit but could hardly spell her own name correctly in her mother-tongue, Bengali. She felt more at home in French than in English and was much better versed in both than in any of the Indian languages. The first effect of higher English education on women, if Tovu's case is taken as typical of the few concerned, seems to have been an uncritical acceptance of everything Western. The need for a Synthesis was not even felt. Her letters reveal a charming personality but that of a typical English girl aware of India only as a land of romantic dreams. Her beautiful transalations from Indian scriptures were done in the same spirit. It was left to her English friend, Mary Martin, to make her aware or even proud of her Indian heritage. The reproach was gratefully accepted by Tovu. "Thank you very much for what you say about calling my countrymen "natives"; the reproof is just, and I stand corrected. I shall take care and not call them natives again. It is indeed a term only

used by prejudiced Anglo-Indians, and I am really ashamed to have used it." Bot so closely had she identified herself with England that writing a few days later she again did the same and crossed the word out only on second thoughts. Probably the family's conversion to Christianity and its intimate contact with Missionaries had allowed her to grow in a harmonious atmosphere even if oblivious of things Indian. She was simple and genuine and in this respect she differed from "young Bengal", who deliberately set out to imitate the West.

Her work, though perhaps not of the highest order, was appraised by eminent French and English Critics including Edmund Gosse. Her letters and poems reveal a fine sensibility and a deeply sensitive nature. They contain much promise of the future but her genius was not to attain maturity.

APPENDIX VIII

ELIZABETH BLACKWELL (1821-1910)

The pioneer professional women both in India and England came from similar social and economic backgrounds as will be apparent from the lives of Elizabeth Blackwell and Annandi Bai Jashee. Religion played an important part in the lives of both. The secular aspect of the British Feminish Movement has received considerable publicity; it is not generally realized that it also had an active religious wing, evangelical and non-conformist.

Elizabeth Blackwell was the daughter of "a member of the stern Independent Church,... a prosperous businessman, owner of a busy sugar-refinery". Her father was interested in reforms of every kind... opposed slave-trade in America....took part in meetings held to discuss the low wages and working conditions of the mill-workers...and was very much interested in seeing that women should get the same chance for education as men." She attended many Missionary meetings with her family while still a child. ¥

The formal education came to an end in 1837 when she was sixteen years of age; she then had the chance of marriage or career. She disliked teaching but realized that to start a day school was the most practical thing to do.¥¥ In the evenings, however, she studied medicine with Dr. S.H.Dickson, a relative of the Rev. John Dickson "with whom she first began her studies." ¥¥¥

¥ R.Baker: The first Woman Doctor P.8.
¥¥ Ilsid: P.25-6.
¥¥¥ Ilsid: P.34.

Since medical training was not available to women in England, she migrated to America. Even there she had to encounter considerable prejudice. Her admission to the Geneva Medical School" was entirely the result of a joke, and an accident," and not a deliberate act of the academic Authorities! The weak financial position of the Institution which might be improved by the publicity the school would receive on admitting a woman also influenced them in her favour.

The idea of a young woman student was so novel that she had difficulty in finding board and lodgings.[xx] The unusual sight of a girl purchasing instruments in a medical shop also attracted attention and invited comment.[xxx] She was asked to absent herself when the dissection of the private parts of the human body was being demonstrated to the students.[xo] When despite various handicaps she successfully completed the Course in 1849, there was some hesitation in awarding her the usual Diploma.[xoo]

Three months later she sailed for France. Paris Hospitals did not recognise American Degrees and would not admit her to a post-graduate Course. She had to enter La Maternité as a "grisette" (Student-nurse) for the privilege of being allowed to watch the ablest surgeons at work.[ox] But soon afterwards the famous London Surgeon, James Paget, offered her admission

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x Ibid P.58-61

xx Ibid P. 55.

xxx Ibid P.40.

xo Ibid P.68.

xoo Ibid P.97-102

ox Ibid P.103-4

as a"graduate student" at St.Bartholomew's Hospital. She stayed in England until 1851 and then returned to America to practice.

This was not easy. The landladies objected to a woman medical practitioner and only after considerable difficulty did she manage to find accommodation. Even then she was not allowed to put up her name-plate as a doctor. It was only with the help of Quaker friends, and the paper Tribune which "was read like a Bible both in anti-slavery and in all liberal circles" that she managed to get the necessary publicity.[**] From that time despite the opposition and hostile behaviour of male doctors her reputation rose. During the Civil War in America, women doctors did excellent work and Elizabeth reaped her reward when "on April 13, 1864, the New York State Legislature...voted an enabling act for a women's medical College...Two years later with an enrolment of fifteen students, the new School opened."[***] The pioneer work in America was ended; in England it was just beginning.

Returning to England, she found herself in the middle of the leading Feminists. Madame Bodichon, George Eliot, Herbert Spencer, Charles Kingsley and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, all entertained a high opinion of her.

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[*] Ibid P.127

[**] See Chapter I P. for the connection between Feminists and other radical movements of the (19

[***] R.Baker: The First Woman Doctor P.164.

She spent much time in popularising, what were then regarded as new-fangled ideas, preventive and antiseptic medicine. She spent much time in lecturing to women all over the country and was one of the founders of the Royal Free Hospital for Women with Doctors Elizabeth Garrett and Sophia Jex-Blake. She had a great influence on the students who stood in awe of her. However, she had a kind and sympathetic nature and was generally liked by them.

This was not the end of her troubles. She wrote a book, Counsel to Parents, which so scandalized the "widow of a bishop and a person of pious notions" that the latter had all the copies consigned to fire. Elizabeth hurried from her retreat in Hastings and was able to overcome prejudice. The book appeared under anew name, The Moral Education of the Young, and rapidly passed through several editions.*

She died at Hastings on May 31, 1910. The severe bare stone bears the following inscription:

> "In loving memory of Elizabeth Blackwell, M.D. - Born at Bristol, 3rd February,1821, died at Hastings, 31st May 1910. The first woman of modern times to graduate in Medicine (1849) and the first to be placed on the British Medical Register (1859)."

Underneath a few of her favourite lines from her lecture on The Religion of Health are quoted: "It is only when we have learned to recognise that God's law for the human body is as sacred as - nay, is one with God's law for the human soul, that we shall begin to understand the religion of the heart." **

R.Baker: The first Woman Doctor P.177.

** Ibid. P.184.

The interesting points to notice in Elizabeth Blackwell's biography are the religious men and influences which moulded her life. The great "Liberator" William Llyod Garrison, was a friend of the family which regularly attended the Church and Missionary meetings. Elizabeth Fry and Prudence Crandall were her heroines. Her brother was in the Church and had rescued a slave-girl. He married Lucy Stone, founder of the American Women's Suffrage Association. Her "Companion brother", Samuel, married Antoinette Browne, the minister. At the most critical stages of her career she received help from religiously minded men and women, the Rev.S.H. Dickson, James Paget, Horace Greeley the Editor of the liberal anti-slavery paper, Mrs. Bellows, wife of a Minister and many others. These looked to Christian doctrine and dogma for their belief in the equality of men and women. Elizabeth herself had a pious disposition as shewn by the inscription on her grave.

The early pioneers had to battle as hard against irrational male prejudice as against constant ill health. Though Elizabeth lived to the ripe age of 89, she was constantly struggling to replenish the body for the demands made on it by the mind. For months she travelled to the important watering-places in Europe in search of health. She early lost one eye and the other was very weak due to the hard strain put on it.[*]

Her life also bears ample testimony to the triumph of persistence and persuasiveness which disarmed all criticism.

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[*] R.Baker: The First Woman Doctor P.124.

APPENDIX. IX

THE HIGHER EXAMINATION (FOR WOMEN)

1. Compulsory Subjects.

A. - English. (Maximum 150 marks, minimum 50 in the case of Europeans and Eurasians, and 30 in the case of Natives).

(a) Dictation. A passage from a book equal in difficulty to the matriculation prose text-book (20 marks).

(b) Questions on the Prose & Poetry appointed for the ensuing matriculation exam. (50 marks).

(c) Questions on the language generally (30 marks).

(d) (a) Translating into the vernacular one or more passages from a book not previously studied, equal in difficulty to Lethbridge's Easy Selections (20 marks), or if the Candidate knows no vernacular, paraphrasing one or more passages of poetry not previously studied equal in difficulty to Gay's Fables (20 marks).

(e) (b) Translating into English one or more passages from the Vernacular (30 marks). Or if the Candidate knows no vernacular, composition, such as the description of a place, an account of some useful, natural or artificial product, or the like (30 marks).

B. Vernacular Language - (Maximum 150 marks, minimum 30 in the case of Europeans & Eurasians, 50 in the case of Natives).

(a) Dictation - A passage from a book equal in difficulty to the matriculation prose text-book (20 Marks).

(b) Questions on the Prose & Poetry appointed for the matriculation examination. (55 marks).

(c) Questions on the grammar, structure and idiom of the language (40 marks).

(d) Original composition of The Matriculation standard (35 marks)

C. Arithmetic - (Maximum 90 marks, minimum 30)

The first four Simple & Compound rules, reduction, vulgar and decimal fractions, simple and compound proportion, practice, extraction of the square root, interest.

D. Geography and Indian History

(a) General Geography, and the Geography of India in particular. (Maximum 60 marks, minimum 20).

(b) The History of India from 1817 to 1858 (Maximum 50 marks, minimum 17)

II. Optional Subjects.

E. Mathematics - (Maximum 80 marks, minimum 20)

Euclid - The first two books with easy deductions.

Alegbra- Addition, Subtraction, multiplication, division, involution and evolution of algebraical quantities, and simple equations with easy deductions.

F. Physics - (Maximum 80 marks, minimum 20).

Balfour Stewart's Physics (Macmillan's Science Primers), first 67 paragraphs or any similar book.

G. - Chemistry (Maximum 80 marks, minimum 20)

Roscoe's Chemistry (Macmillan's Science Primers), or any similar book.

H. - Botany (Maximum 80 marks, minimum 20).

Hooker's Botany (Macmillan's Science Primers), with the exception of Sections XIX and XXV, or any similar book.

I. - Geology (Maximum 80 marks, minimum 20).

Geikie's Geology (Macmillan's Science Primers), or any similar book.

J. - Astronomy (Maximum 80 marks, minimum 20).

Lockyer's Astronomy (Macmillan's Science Primers), or any similar book.

K. - English History - (Maximum 80 marks, minimum 20)

The leading facts of the History of England to the year 1858.

L. - History of English Literature (Maximum 80 marks, minimum 20)

Brooke's English Literature (Macmillan's Literature Primers), or any similar book.

M. - Needle-work (Maximum 80 marks, minimum 27)

Cutting out and working a fine cloth, a finely-made European shirt, a native man's jacket, or a native woman's jacket and petticoat finely made - such portions as can be completed within the time available

(a) To obtain a certificate a Candidate must pass in all The Compulsory and two of the optional subjects. Candidates coming up for an imperfect certificate under Rule 22 will be required to pass the same examination with the exception of the omission of one language.

(b) Marks will be deducted for bad writing and spelling in every subject.

(c) The answers in the non-language subjects must be in English except in the case of candidates who do not bring up English.

N.B. - To entitle a candidate to a first-class, one-half of the total aggregate marks assigned to the subjects in which she appears must be obtained, to a second class one-third.

APPENDIX X

Qualifications for Women Missionaries

1. Constitution Age:

She must possess a good constitution and an even temper. She should enter upon her duties while comparatively young as the mind then is more flexible and it is easier to get acclimatised to the new conditions.

2. Education:

A knowledge of languages is essential. She ought to know French or other European languages so as to possess the knack of acquiring new languages which she would have to learn on arriving in India. A knowledge of history and geography is desirable as well as that of arithmetic.

She must also know handiwork. Though this would not be strictly speaking intellectual work, it has to be taken into consideration owing to the undeveloped state of most children who frequent such schools.

She should also brush up her Theology.

3. She should possess "goodsense and commonsense".

4. Knowledge of singing too desirable as Hindu children are very fond of music.

5. Lastly she advises the intending teachers to make themselves "familiar with all that is approved as excellent in the large model schools at home" and to gain experience by teaching in village or Sunday Schools before leaving for India.

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1. Mrs. Weitbrecht: Female Missionaries in India, 1841, pp.30,41,94,96.

APPENDIX X (A)

Missionary Girls' Schools Union
Impromptu by A.L.O.E.
Rules and Regulations Umritsur Missionary Bungalow [1].

"The Missionary Miss Sahibas must never complain,
The Missionary Miss Sahibas must temper restrain,
Must never be fanciful, foolish, or vain:
The Missionary Miss Sahibas in dress must be plain
The Missionary Miss Sahibas must furnish their brain,
Of two or three languages obtain,
When weary and puzzled must "try, try, again",
We cannot learn grammar by leger-de-main.

"The Missionary Miss Sahibas must know every lane,
Climb ladders like stairs without fearing a sprain,
The Missionary Miss Sahibas must speak very plain,
Must rebuke and encourage, must teach and explain,
The Missionary Miss Sahibas must grasp well the rein,
The Missionary Miss Sahibas must not look for gain,
Though doctoring sick folk like Jenner and Quain.

"Let Missionary Miss Sahibas from late hours restrain,
For they must rise early and bear a hard strain,
Like rigorous cart-horses drawing a wain,
That pull well together when yoked twain and twain.
The Missionary Miss Sahibas must work might and main
And therefore good nourishment should not disdain,
Or danger is great of their going insane.

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1. Indian Female Evangelist, Vol.III, p.239.

"The Missionary Miss Sahibas must topees retain,
Must guard against sunstroke, to health such a bane,
And midst frogs and "Musquitoes" must patient remain,
Yes, even when tormented must smile through their pain,
And with courage like that of the Knights of Charlemagne,
By Missionary Miss Sahibas snakes should be slain.

"The Missionary Miss Sahibas should sow well the grain;
Dark babies should fondle, dark women should train,
And Bibis and Begums at times entertain
Should smile and should soothe, but not flatter or feign
And to usefulness thus they may hope to attain.

N.B.

"Let all Missionary Miss Sahibas single remain,
For if not - they step out of their proper domain
And can never be Missionary Miss Sahibas again."

The writer "A.L.O.E." was a well-known contributor to current Christian periodicals and had done a lot to further the education of girls. This verse, full of contemporary "atmosphere", gives an idea of the qualifications and the daily work expected from the European women teachers. Tact and courage were as indispensable as intellectual attainment.

A.L.O.E. the writer, was Charlotte Tucker, born in 1821. Her father was a member of the Bengal Civil Service and her mother was the daughter of a Director of the East India Company. Her brother, a judge, was killed in the Mutiny and the death of some other friends and relatives decided her to become a missionary. The Church of England Zenana Missionary Society sent her out to India in 1875. She died in 1895.

APPENDIX XI

Questions for Candidates[1]

1. " To what clergyman, minister, or other individual, can you refer for information respecting your character and qualifications?

   It is desirable to name more than one.

2. Have you reason to believe that you are yourself a partaker of Divine Grace? If so, upon what grounds do you rest your belief?

3. With what Church are you in Communion, and how long have you been a Communicant?

4. What are your views of the leading doctrines of Christianity? State them fully on the following subjects: The Trinity in Unity - original sin - the Atonement - Justification - Conversion - Sanctfication - and Devotedness to God.

5. What are your views on the principal dispositions which should characterise a Christian missionary?

6. What are the chief mental and moral qualifications required in a Superintendent of Christian Schools for heathen children?

7. What do you consider to be the difficulties likely to be encountered by an agent of this Society, and the probable causes of those difficulties, with the special graces which will be called by them into exercise?

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1. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East Records.

8. "What are the chief motives which make you desirous of engaging in missionary work?

9. How long have you felt this desire?

10. What leads you to believe that you are called by God in the work?

11. What preparations have you made for entering upon it?

12. State, if agreeable to you, howfar habits of activity and economy have served to prepare you for it.

13. What has been your method of studying the Scriptures and what theological works have you chiefly read?

14. What advantages of education have you enjoyed; and what branches of general knowledge have you studied, with a view to your greater efficiency as a teacher among the heathen? Have you a facility in acquiring foreign languages?

15. Have you been accustomed to engage in the tuition of the young, in seeking the spiritual benefit of the sick, in visiting the poor, or in what other ways have you endeavoured to communicate the knowledge of the Gospel to others?

16. What has been your method of communicating Christian knowledge to children hitherto? Have you any acquaintance with the National, Lancastrian or Infant School systems?

17. Have you, before offering yourself as an agent of this Society, made it a matter of repeated and earnest prayer, seeking the Divine blessing on so important an undertaking?

18. "Are your health and spirits good?

19. What is your age?

20. State any particulars respecting yourself with which you would wish the Committee to be acquainted. Remarks.

Questions for referees

1. "Do you consider that ---------- gives evidence of real piety? Has she long maintained a temper and deportment consistent with her Christian character and profession?

2. Since you've had reason to look upon her as a Christian, has she manifested much concern to embrace opportunities of usefulness? Has she been engaged in Sabbath School instruction, in visiting the sick, or in other ways of endeavouring to benefit those around her?

3. What is your opinion of her powers of mind and acquirements, particularly her talent for communicating knowledge to others?

4. What is your opinion of her as to temper, good sense, judgement and prudence? Is she mild, courteous and humble in her demeanour? Has she acquired the esteem and goodwill of those with whom she has come in contact? And has she evinced patience and perseverance in her undertakings?

5. What is her station in life? Is she in independent circumstances, or what has been her occupation hitherto?

6. Are there any other circumstances that you can state to the Committee respecting her, either of a favourable or an unfavourable nature?

APPENDIX XII

Society for the Promotion of Female Education in the East - BENGAL

	NAME	DESIGNATION	REMARKS
1835.	Miss Wakefield	Assistant to Mrs. Wilson at Central School Calcutta.	1836. Asst. head of Wilson's Central School. Married 1837 and returned. £150.
1835.	Miss Jones	Assistant to Mrs. Weitbrecht, in charge of an Orphan School at Burdwan.	1838. Married Rev. J. Leupolt of Benares C.M.S.
1835.	Miss Postans.	Gorruckpore, under Mr. & Mrs. Wilkinson	1837. Married and returned. £74.
July 1836.	Miss Carter.	Cawnpore, as head of Orphan Asylum.	1837. Married.
July 1836.	Miss Thomson.	Assistant to Mrs. Mundy at London Missionary Society, Chinsurah.	Note the cooperation of different societies in female education. 1841. Married a missionary at Cape after 6 years of service.
1837.	Miss Barlow.		1840. Married.
1837.	Miss Missing.	To Miss Thomson's School.	Connection dissolved 1840.
1837.	Miss Warrin.	To assist Mrs. Weitbrecht and Miss Jones.	
1840.	Miss Wilson.	Burdwan.	1842. 'Miss Wilson having left Solo for a time, on account of ill-health, various obstacles were raised to her return thither, and the result has been that her connection with the Society is dissolved by marriage.'
1841.	Miss Derry.	Orissa, Bengal.	1845. Married Rev. Mr. Buckley.
1844.	Mlle Margot.	Geneva Ladies' Society, Chinsurah.	

NAME	DESIGNATION	REMARKS
1845. Miss Collins.	Cuttack.	1852. Resigned after six years. Continues to be useful.
1853. Miss Goodenough.	Agra.	
1854. Miss Johnson.	Church of Scotland Branch, Calcutta, paid her salary.	
1855. Miss Parker.	Arrived Calcutta.	
1855. Miss Johnson.	Arrived Calcutta.	1858. Married Mr. Hannah.
1855. Mrs. Willing.	Mussorrie. Transferred from Bombay.	

Church Missionary Society: Register of Missionaries - BENGAL

	NAME	DESIGNATION	REMARKS
1822.	Miss M.A. Cooke.	Arrived 1822, Calcutta.	1823. Married Rev. I. Neilson. Widow 1828. Resigned 1842.
1840.	Elizabeth Emma Swinburne.	Arrived 1840, Burdwan.	1841. Married Rev. Pfander.
1842.	Mrs. A. Durnford.	Arrived 1842, Benares.	1844, connexion closed; service 2 yrs.
1852.	Bomwetch.	of Wurtemberg. Arrived Semtopore 1852.	Returned 1857; service 4½ years.
1857.	Louise Ellwanger.	of Wurtemberg	1857-88 off ardon.
1860.	Annie Sherwood.	Allahabad, December 4, 1860.	1861. Married Rev. B. Davis.
1861.	Jane Hooper.	1861. Feminine Normal School Benares, to 1864.	1864. Married Mr. Low. Widow 1871. Again Feminine Normal School Benares to 1874.
1864.	H. Neele.	Burdwan, Orissa, Calcutta Normal School 1868-9, and Agarpara Orphanage, turned into Christian Girls' Boarding School.	1864-1892, and still continues service with short visits to England.
1870.	Christine Zenker	of Germany. North West Provinces. Agra.	Age 28.
1872.	Mrs. Elmslie.	Widow of Dr. Elmslie.	Service after husband's death, 5 yrs.
1873.	Maria Hoernle.	British India. Sister and daughter of missionary	Service 10 years, 1873-1883. C.M.S. C.E.Z.M.S. 1883.
1878.	Mrs. M. Grime.	of Stettin. Widow of the Rev. G. Grime. Benares, Punjab, Allahabad, etc.	1878-93. Contd. as widow.
1879.	Mrs. A. Reuther.	Widow of Rev. C. Reuther. Widow 1879.	Service after husband's death, 6 years, 1879-85.
1880.	H. Chettle.	Age 29. Agarpara. Calcutta.	1881. Married and connexion closed. Service 1 year.

Church Missionary Society: Register of Missionaries - MADRAS

	NAME	DESIGNATION	REMARKS
1831.	Mary Anne Rackster.	Arrived Madras April 1831.	Married Lt. Alexander, Oct 6,1831. Service 6 months.
1840.	Amelia Baker (Mrs. Johnson)	B. Cottayam.	Married 1840 Rev. Johnson. Widow 1846. Remained in charge of Normal Girls' School, Cottayam, 1846-1855, and returned to England.
1844.	Caroline C. Gibbson.	1844. Taken un in India.	Connexion closed 1862. Service 17 yrs. Died Bath, June 14, 1885.
1846.	Sophia Hobbs.	S.P.F.E. June 9,1846 arrived Temevelly.	Married Rev. J. Spratt in 1846.
1847.	Jane Mary Smith.	July 20, 1847. Temevelly.	Married Rev. E. Newman, Sept.2, 1847.
1847.	Hawkins.	November 4, 1847. Temevelley.	Married 1849 and connexion closed.
1849.	Mary Jane Hobbs (sister)	June 18, 1849, Temevelley.	Married 1859 Rev. T. Spratt, Service 5yrs
1849.	Newman.	August 20, 1849. Madras.	Married 1852, a planter. Service 3 yrs.
1851.	Mrs. Sarah Jerrow.	Widow Rev. T. Jerrow. Bombay Female Schools.	Dies 1862. Service on husband's death 11 years.
1852.	Bower.		
1854.	Jessie J. Darling.	Eurasian. Temevelly 1854.	Married T. Warrell, Esq. Service 1 yr.
1857.	Ellen Meredith.	Temevelly.	Returned again 1861. Service 4 years, absence 1 year.
1859.	Mary Richards.	Sarah Tucker Institute Temevelly, June.	Married Captain Hodges 1865. Service 6yrs
1863.	Mrs. Hawksworth		Service after husband's death 2 years.
1866.	Mrs. Amelia Baker, nee A. Kohloff		Married 1858 Rev. Baker. 1866 widow. Service after husband's death 22 yrs.

NAME	DESIGNATION	REMARKS
1866. Mrs. Dorothy Andrews.	Widow of Rev. H. Andrews.	1866-1871. Female education in Madras. Service 5 years. After her husband's death; total 15½ years.
1866. Mrs. Amelia Sharkey.	Eurasian. Widow of Rev. J. Sharkey, 1868. Married 1847.	Service after husband's death in Girls' Schools, 1868-79; 11 years.
1871. Mrs. Mary Vickers (Nee M. Brotherton, daughter of S.P.G. Missionary)	Married Rev. R. Vickers, 1857. Severed connexion in 1867, widow. Returned to India 1871.	Widow, 1871-93. Female education. Service 22 years.
1877. Mary Baker	Born Cottayam. Assisted father and mother.	Full connexion 1893.

Society for the Promotion of Female Education in the East - MADRAS

NAME	DESIGNATION	REMARKS
1836. Miss Craven.	Arrived in Madras. Assistant to Mrs. Pettit of Church Missionary Society in charge of Female Orphan Asylum.	Married 1838.
1837. Miss Austen.	Lower Class East Indian Children's School.	
1837. Miss Hale.	To open Boarding School for thosewho can afford.	1840. Connexion dissolved. To open her own school in hill country.
1837. Miss Pennington.	Ladies' Institution, Madras.	1840. Connexion dissolved.
1836. Miss Spiers.	Learnt the languages. 1837 Appointed Head of European Orphan Asylum, Madras. containing 400 inmates, many of whom, it is hoped will be trained as teachers of native schools.	
1838. Miss Machell.	Vizagapatam.	1843. Connexion dissolved owing to ill-health. Later engaged in private situation.
1840. Miss Woodman.	Meyoor, Travancore. To establish an infant school under the direction of L.M.S.	1841. Married Rev. Mr. Lechler of L.M.S.
1840. Miss Macklin.	Bangalore.	Married 1846 and became Mrs. Johnson in charge of Orphan Boarding School Bangalore.
1841. Miss Spencer.	Ladies' Institution of Mr. Tucker.	
1841. Miss Gavason.	Ladies' Institution of Mr. Tucker.	
1842. Miss Hobbs.	Transferred from Colombo to Temevelly.	1844. 27 boarders and 7 day scholars. Prepares for domestic duties and becoming teachers to the country-women. Married 1846.

	NAME	DESIGNATION	REMARKS
1848.	Miss Hawkins.	Normal School Temevelly.	
1849.	Miss Hansford.	After 5 years experience in Ceylon sent to Cottayam to establish a Normal School.	
1849.	Miss Newman.	To Normal School Temevelly.	Married 1853.

APPENDIX XIII

Introductory Note to the Biographies

The following biographies fall into three main clases: those of the wives of the missionaries and unmarried European women teachers, of talented Indian women helped by the former and partly educated in England, and of one who was a product of an Indian Female Normal School.

Clearly there were differences of class and education among the European women teachers in India. Mrs. Wilson of Bombay and Charlotte Tucker represent those who had received better education and belonged to a higher social strata. Miss Tucker's father was in the Bengal Civil Service and her brother was a judge.

Not many of the European women teachers in India could claim such connections. A great majority of them appear to have come from the lower middle-classes and were mostly educated at home. They were more remarkable for their zeal and piety rather than for their educational qualifications which were not required to be high as they were going to take up only elemmntary school-teaching in India. They appear to have been closely connected with some church or chapel where their interest in India was generally enlisted as a result of meeting a missionary and marrying him or through appeals on behalf of that country. As they generally had some experience of teaching in Sunday or other schools in England, they were greatly sought after by the missionaries as well as the Female Education Societies.

Of the Indians, Rama Bai represents those who by birth as well as education belonged to the Superior Class of teachers. Franscina Sorabji, although an orphan, profited by her education, and almost reached Rama Bai's standard. Both of them were Christians, the former was converted, the latter was born of Christian parents.

The life of the third Indian woman shows that Female Normal Schools were taking root in India. In her education, the Government, the missionaries and the Indians rooperated with each other and she remained a Hindu to the last. Of modest intellectual gifts, she seems to have achieved a great deal through persistence, endurance and diligence, qualities perhaps more essential in a school-mistress than a positive proof of genius.

Hannah Marshman, 1767-1847.

She was the daughter of the Rev. J. Clark, Baptist minister of Crockerton, Wiltshire. In 1791 at the age of twenty-three, Hannah married John Marshman and six years later landed at Serampore with her husband. The Serampore Missionaries agreed upon a division of labour; Carey was assigned the translation of books, Ward looked after the Press and Marshman took charge of the schools. Mrs. Marshman helped him but she had also to look after the household duties, as Carey's wife suffered from periodic insanity. Six of her twelve children survived[1] and this must have imposed additional strain on her. In 1800 Mrs. Marshman opened a "Seminary for Young Ladies" with two boarders at £45 per annum. The Seminary made rapid progress and by the December of that year she had twenty-three boarders. She considerably improved the financial position of the Mission and it is estimated that at one time the profits derived from Mr. and Mrs. Marshman's Schools amounted to £1000 per annum, which were utilised for the enlargement of mission work.[2] In 1807 Mrs. Marshman opened a school for Indian girls. "Native Girls' Day Schools" were opened in various parts of Bengal: Carey's second wife, Charlotte, and the pupils of Mrs. Marshman's Seminary were particularly

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1. C.E. Buckland: Dictionary of Indian Biography, p.276. Most of this sketch is taken from G. Smith: Twelve Pioneer Missionaries, p.67-80.

2. Centenary Volume of the Baptist Missionary Society, p.61.

helpful in extending the work on her death at the age of eighty. Her educational work was continued by Hannah Mullens who had received her training at the Ladies' Seminary at Serampore.

Miss Cooke (later Mrs. Wilson)

The early history of Miss Cooke is not known. Mr. Harrington and the British and Foreign School Society arranged for her to proceed to India.[1] She sailed for India on Monday, May 28, 1820, on board the Abberton from Gravesend with Mr. Ward, Mrs. Marshman and her daughter, Mr. and Mrs. Mack.[2] Owing to lack of funds she was received on her arrival in India by the Church Missionary Society, which then lent her services to the Ladies' Society.[3] She found on her arrival in India that Indian women were not forthcoming to be trained as teachers and hence she had to undertake the general education of girls. Meanwhile the Rev.Mr. Wilson, who had arrived in Madras in 1820, was transferred to Calcutta in 1822. Miss Cooke married him in April 1823.[4] Her sister, Jane Cooke, who was going out to India to join her in her work, died suddenly in England in 1823. She continued her interest in female education and after her husband's death in 1828 she devoted

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1. See appendix
2. Baptist Missionary Society Herald, July 1820.
3. C.M.S. Register of Missionaries and Native Clergy, p.260.
4. C.M.S. Report 1822, p.121.

all her time to the sphere of work.[1] Her career provides a remarkable illustration of the fact that though high hopes were pinned on Indian widows, it was the British widows who actually did more work for the promotion of female education in India. She encouraged English women to take up the cause of Indian women's education, which resulted in the formation of societies with this object.[2] In 1834 she took charge of orphans whose parents had perished in the famine and two years later she built the Agarparah Orphan Refuge with accommodation for 100 children. In 1838 she completed a school-building for over 400 children. A year later she also erected a Mission House for a clergyman from England to superintend the Refuge and the schools. But as the Society at home could not agree to appoint a clergyman she made them all over to the C.M.S. in 1842.[3]

Bishop Wilson wrote of this remarkable woman: "This holy woman and 'widow' indeed with a spiritual, sweet, consistent courage - Henry Martyn or Corrie in female form - meek, silent, patient, laborious, with extraordinary tact for her peculiar work - is carrying on the greatest undertaking yet witnessed in India."[4]

1.C.M.S. Register, Sept.1829, p.392.

2.Ibid, 1825, p.325; Feb.1829, p.76.

3.Ibid, 1843, p.196.

4.E. Stock: History of the C.M.S. Vol.I. p.317.

When she joined the Plymouth Brethren, "Archdeacon Dealtry thought it impossible to let her remain" in charge of the schools and she had to give up the work. The attendance at the schools soon dwindled from 200 to 13.[1] This showed that it was Mrs. Wilson who was responsible for promoting female education and no sooner was her personality withdrawn, the work practically collapsed for the time being.

Mrs. Mullens

Mrs. Mullens nee Hannah Lacroix. She was the daughter of the famous Swiss missionary at Calcutta. She was brought up in India until she was fifteen and was taught Bengali inflexions. Her husband, the Rev. J. Mullens, in his book "Memorials of Lacroix", gives a description of the education his wife had received. This account seems to have been true of the education of most of the missionaries' daughters and others who were not so well-educated. Hence it may be quoted here at some length to give a picture of the education of European girls in India at that time. "Her education as a girl," says Mr. Mullens, "was imperfect: Calcutta in her youth possessed few of those agencies for the training of the young which it has since secured. Only for one year did she enjoy the advantages of a school: her education was carried

1. Mrs. Colin Mackenzie: Life in the Zenana, Jan.1847,p.74.

on almost entirely by our dear mother amid the constant interruptions of domestic life. And though she learned much, and her mind stirred by the conversation of her father and his many friends, her education was without a plan; and she missed the opportunity of acquiring upon system those numerous items of simple general knowledge, which though learned chiefly by rote in childhood, lay the foundation of more extended acquirements and become appreciated at their real value amid the attainments of riper years. Throughout her life she regretted this deficiency; she often found herself at a loss in common things, such as the knowledge of localities, of the dates of great events, and even the ready spelling of familiar words..... Her great intelligence, however, made her pick up knowledge rapidly ..."

At the age of fifteen she was sent to a school in England for eighteen months. She also attended regularly the Home & Colonial Society's Institution for training teachers. She returned to India in 1844 at the age of nineteen and married Mr. Mullens of the London Missionary Society a year later. She ran a Boarding School and also did some important work in connection with zenana teaching, taking over the work begun by Mrs. Sale. She died in 1861.

Account compiled from E.R. Pitman: Heroines of the Mission Field, p.81.
L.M.S. Register of Missionaries.
J. Dennis: Centennial Survey of Missions, p.94.
J. Mullens: Memorials of Lacroix, p.443-444.

Mary Cryer, nee Mary Burton (1811-1844)

"Her mother taught a little school" where she "made rapid progress at learning." In 1823 her mother fell ill, and she was sent to a Boarding School, kept by a friend of the family. In 1836 she moved with her father and sister to Leeds. The two sisters opened a school and taught there till 1840. Then she met Thomas Cryer, a missionary on leave from India. She married himand arrived in India in January 1843. Fourteen months later she died of cholera.

Mrs. Weitbrecht, nee Martha Edwards

She was sent out to Malacca as the agent of the Society for Promoting Female Education in China, India and the East. She married the Rev. J.H. Higgs, but soon afterwards became a widow. She married the Rev. J. Weitbrecht in 1834 and continued to engage in female education after the death of her second husband in 1852. She died in 1888. She was one of the European widows who gave long and useful service.[1]

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1. Calcutta Review Vol.23, July-Dec.1854, p.410.
Register of London Missionary Society Missionaries, p.30.

Mrs. Sarah Smith

Mrs. Smith, nee Sarah Marsden. She was born in 1788. Her father was a hop-merchant in Southwark. She was brought up in a pious family under the influence of the Rev. Alexander Fletcher. In 1828 she married the Rev. John Smith and accompanied him to India. She superintended the Black Town Female School, Madras. [1].

Margaret Wilson (1795-1835)

She was born in 1795. Her father, the Rev. Kenneth Bayne, was in charge of the South Parish Church, Greenock. When four years of age she was sent to school. At thirteen she was sent to a Boarding School at Kilmarnock for over a year. Then she went to Aberdeen for "the completion of her education" and lived in the house of "an old and confidential friend" of her father. There she studied "mathematics, astronomy, Natural Philosophy, and Moral Philosophy." On her return she superintended the education of her younger sisters who were

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1. E.R. Pitman: Heroines of the Mission Field, p.216.

"withdrawn from the Public Classes." For the next five years she taught in a Sabbath School with her sister. In 1828 she married John Wilson and sailed for India as the missionary's wife. She arrived in Bombay in 1829 where she acquired a knowledge of Marathi, Hindustani and Portuguese. She opened six little schools in different parts of the City for "Bazaar" children, the superintendence of which occupied five hours a day. She held Bible classes for Ayahs and other servants on Sundays, regularly visited British prisoners at Kolaba, and during her husband's absence on tour supervised the work of the whole mission. During her six years' stay in India she gave birth to four children and cared for them devotedly. She also had seven destitute Indian girls sharing her home which later became the nucleus of the Bombay Boarding School. She died in 1835 and her work was continued by her sisters[1] and the second Mrs. Wilson.[2]

Pandita Rama Bai (1858-1922)

She was the daughter of Anant Sastri, a Chirpavan Brahmin. Her father and mother were both Sanskrit scholars of the old

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1. See Chapter III.

2. Compiled from the Memoir of Mrs. Margaret Wilson of Bombay, and from The Records of the Church of Scotland.

wandering type moving from place to place, forest to forest. She was taught Sanskrit and the Hindu religious texts from the age of eight onwards and was not slow to profit from this instruction. She also learnt much in the schools of adversity and travel as she accompanied her father on his continuous pilgrimages to the holy places all over India. They suffered much during the famine of 1876-77 in the Madras Presidency and soon after both the parents died, leaving her to the care of her elder brother.

The brother and sister continued their wanderings in Northern India until they arrived at Calcutta in 1878. It is important to note that Rama Bai's father, though an orthodox Hindu, was a true vedantist and did not marry his daughter before the age of puberty as was the custome and contrary to all rules he had also taught her the vedas. Friendless and poor, she and her brother tried to eke out a living in Calcutta by lecturing. She quickly became known for her learning and the title of "Saraswati" (Goddess of Learning) was conferred upon her. She also advocated the cause of female education and emancipation and her reputation spread all over India. But again misfortune dogged her path. Her brother died.

As the lot of a single woman was difficult, she married a friend of her brother, Babu Bipin Beharidas Medhavi.

"We neither of us believed," she says, "in Hinduism or Christianity, and so we were married with the civil marriage rites." This caused a storm of protest as she, a Chitpavan Brahmin, had married a Sudra. It was also the time when the Calcutta Society was being stirred by the Cooch Behar marriage which considerably affected the position of Keshub Chunder Sen in Brahma Samaj circles as well as outside. After nineteen months of happy married life, her husband died of cholera and she was left a widow with a young daughter.

It was about this time that she first became interested in Christianity and felt a strong need for a personal religion. She left Bengal for Madras with a view to study the English language but as the local vernaculars were "strange" to her she went to Poona with her little girl.

There were two schools of thought in Hindu society at this time in Poona. Bal Gangadhar Tilak symbolised the alliance between political nationalism and Hindu orthodoxy; the other was represented by Mahadev Govind Ranade, at that time a subordinate judge in Poona, cautious, able and farseeing leader in social and religious reform. No doubt the former disliked her for being a rebel from Hindu society but she was welcomed by the latter and became one of the leading personalities in the Arya Mahila Samaj which had been founded by Mrs. Ranade to advocate emancipation of women, and social and religious reform. Rama Bai also gave

evidence before the Hunter Education Commission. Though her views were not wholly balanced, as was inevitable in the case of an enthusiast, she excited the admiration of that body and the Chairman had her evidence translated into English.

All this time in Poona she continued the study of the New Testament and English under Miss Hurford of the Wantage Sisters Mission who was later appointed Superintendent of the Female Training College on the retirement of Mrs. Mitchell. She was probably encouraged by the missionary to proceed to England where she arrived early in 1883. The Wantage Sisters took her to their Home and there she was instructed both in secular and religious subjects. Later she was baptized, largely under Bishop Goreh's influence. After a year's study at the Sisters' Home, she joined the Ladies' College, Cheltenham, first as a scholar and then as a teacher. There she came under the influence of the famous feminist, Miss Beales, of whom she spoke in the highest terms. In February 1886 she left for America to be present at the graduation ceremony of her friend, Mrs. Anandibai Joshi, who had just completed her medical studies at Philadelphia.[1]

It was about this time that Rama Bai finally abandoned the idea of studying medicine which had haunted her for quite some time. She stayed in America for two years, studying the Froebel System of kindergarten and writing text-books for vernacular

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1. See Chapter VII.

schools in her spare time. She also published her book, The Hindu High Caste Woman, which secured a wide sale in America. It revealed the plight of Indian women and thereby sought to arouse the sympathy of American and British women. This book was "a passionate indictment of her countrymen" and created a deep impression in America. By these means she collected about four thousand pounds for women's work in India.

She arrived in Poona in 1889 and opened a widows Ashram with the cooperation of Hindu reformers on the basis of religious neutrality. After a few years she seems to have undergone another "conversion" and found it difficult to run the institution on those lines. As some of the inmates embraced Christianity the suspicions of the Indian reformers were aroused and they sent in their resignations from the Advisory Committee in 1893. The Ashram was from then onwards continued on Christian lines.

In the Central Provinces famine of 1896, she toured the country bringing succour to the victims. She established a similar home for the famine orphans at Kedgaon in 1896. A couple of years later she proceeded to American to give an account of her work. On her return she concentrated on the work at Kedgaon, which made rapid progress. She was awarded the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal in 1919 for her multifarious services. She died in 1922.

This account is in the main taken from: Nicol Macnicol's: Pandita Rama Bai.
For fuller information see:
H.S. Dyer: Pandita Rama Bai, her vision, her mission and triumph of faith.
Pandita Rama Bai: The Widow's Friend, with a sequel by her daughter, Manovamabai. Melbourne, 1903.
Rama Bai: The High Caste Woman, with introduction by Rachel L. Bodley.
Rama Bai: A Testimony (Mukti Mission Press 1917)

Franscina Sorabji

Franscina Sorabji was born in Neilgherry Hills in 1833, of Indian Christian parents. She lost her mother early. When she was about ten years of age the regiment of which Sir Francis Ford was the Colonel was transferred to Southern India. Lady Ford took a liking to this bright-eyed child and adopted her. She herself taught the child English and also arranged for her to learn her mother tongue. Franscina seems to have been an intelligent child and profited by her education. When she was seventeen Sir Francis' regiment was transferred to Nasik. "Lady Ford was 'early Victorian': marriage was the natural end ... for her 'Indian child' as for her own English child." She puzzled over this question and as no suitable match was forthcoming decided to take Franscina back to England with her. There she met Sorabji Kharsedji, a Parsi convert who was helping William Salter Price in running an Industrial Settlement. They fell in love with each other and were married on January 17, 1853. Seven daughters and three sons were born to her and five of these at Nasik, Lady Ford being god-mother to all of them. Mrs. Sorabji seems to have been an attentive mother and taught her children English from the age of three. But she realized that the foreign kindergarten system introduced into the country by the educational authorities was not suited to Indian children as it contained stories about animals and trees which were quite foreign to

Indian children. She set out to adapt the system to the Indian environment. She also took charge of the Girls and Women's Section of the Industrial Settlement.

In 1867 she left Nasik with her husband who had accepted employment under the Government. When he retired in 1876, Mrs. Sorabji had the idea of trying a new educational experiment. They thought that East and West could best be brought together in a common educational institution and with this object they founded the Victoria High School where children of all nationalities were on the roll. It was not only an experiment in co-education of the races but also in the instruction of boys and girls together. From kindergarten and Infant School it ranged through the Curriculum of Studies required by the Government to the Entrance Examination to the University of Bombay. Three of her daughters helped her with the School. A Gujerati-teaching school for Parsi children, a Marathi school for Hindus, an Urdu school for Moslems, were established as branches of the Victoria High School.

In 1886 she visited England on a lecture tour at the invitation of the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission and gained some popularity. She was presented to the members of the Royal Family including the Duchess of Teck (Queen Mary).

She continued her educational work on her return to India

and gave evidence before the Hunter Education Commission. She also did very valuable work during the famines and in the outbreak of plague in 1896. She made over the Victoria High School to the Missionary Educational Society. Her daughters were educated in England, the most famous of them being Cornelia Sorabji, the first Indian woman barrister. She died in 1910.[1]

Vithabai Sakharam Chowdari[2]

She was born at Poona on November 21, 1850, of a trader father. Her mother sent her to school at the age of four for fear of her playing truant and getting out of control as her father was mostly away from home on business. There she pursued her studies until she was eight. Her parents did not know of her progress at school for books and slates were supplied free. Then she won first prize among two hundred girls of the Dakshina Prize Committee's Schools.

Her father was a man of liberal views and determined to

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1. Compiled from "Therefore", An Impression of Sorabji Kharsedji Langrana and His Wife Franscina, in the Library of the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission.
   See also Maud Diver: Englishwoman in India, p.243-53.

2. This biographical sketch is taken from her own account to the Bombay Provincial Education Committee, printed in its Report on p.85-86.

give her further education. But as she was tall and looked older than she actually was local opinion did not welcome the idea of her being kept at school any longer. Besides, there was a genuine fear prevalent among the people that educated girls became converts to Christianity and were generally ill-mannered. On the persistent importunity of her grandfather she was withdrawn from school. But her father was a student of Vedanta and had himself taught her Sanskrit at home. He was very fond of Kirtans and wanted her to follow in the footsteps of his famous relative Ziprabai as a preacher. Hence he employed a man to teach her Kirtan, music and poetry. She was also given some lessons in embroidery. But public opinion interfered again; the lessons were discontinued and once again it devolved upon her father to teach her Marathi.

When in 1865 Rai Bahadur Narayan Bhai established a few pupil-teacherships in Poona, she persuaded her father to be less deferential to public opinion and allow her to accept one of them. He also engaged a private tutor to instruct her at home.

She was intelligent and her work so impressed the people she came into contact with that she was appointed headmistress of the Dakshina Prize Committee' School, No.III with a fellow-student as her assistant.

While thus employed, Sir Alexander Grant and Miss Mary Carpenter paid a visit to the school. Miss Carpenter communicated her satisfaction with the management of the school through

Rai Bahadur D.N. Nagarkar for as yet she could not understand English. She now resolved to embark upon the study of that language. But it was not until 1868 that she was allowed to attend lectures in English at the Male Training College, a bench being specially set apart for her.

Some time later she was appointed head-mistress of one of the Students' Library and Scientific Society's schools and occupied that post for five years. On the advice of two Hindu gentlemen she joined the Normal School which had been opened in Bombay and after three years' study she passed the examination in the first division and was the only one to do so. She continued the study of English on her own.

For the next few years she was the headmistress of the Practising School at Poona under Mrs. Mitchell. In 1876 she was appointed by the Government to teach the Rani of Kolhapur and the wives of the Sirdars. A year and a half later she was appointed headmistress of the Girls' School at Bhavnagar Kathiavar.

She knew Marathi, Gujerati, English, Sanskrit and Hindustani, but her thirst for knowledge was not exhausted and in 1881 she took leave to join the Grant Medical College, Bombay, to learn midwifery. Here the account abruptly ends and her subsequent history is unknown.

APPENDIX XIV

Miss Phillott of Barrockpore writes:

"The only remaining, Shushelah, a girl of 7 years of age, comes to my school. The other day, in the middle of the school, her father suddenly appeared and saying she was wanted at home, took her away with him. Impelled by curiosity I shortly afterwards followed them to the home and there found Shushela being dressed by her mother in a very pretty blue sari and a jacket of many colours. Her hair had been brushed and braided, and put up in a very becoming style. Her mother without stopping in her work of adornment, informed me in an excited whisper, that a young man who wished to marry Shushelah had come to see her. She pointed to another room where he was, and begged me to go in and examine him. I was particularly to ask whether he had 'passed' (i.e. passed a Government exam.) I went in and saw two young Baboos, brothers, seated on the floor. The would-be bridegroom was indicated to me by Shushelah's father as "That's the boy'." I felt amused at the term being applied to a grand-looking young man of 20 years of age, more amused still at the idea of having to examine him. The examination, however, did not prove a very difficult matter, for he volunteered a good deal about himself - viz. he had not passed any examination as yet but expected to pass his first one soon. I said to him that I was very surprised that he and Shushelah were allowed to see each other before marriage, and asked if it were not

Appx XII

against custom. He said "Yes", but that custom was one he did not approve of; he said that it was far better that they should know and like each other before being married; and he then went on to give me in tremendous English his ideas about 'progress'; how necessary it was to break through the prejudices of forefathers. Had he not been so pompous I should have thought him sensible.

"A diversion was presumably created by Shushelah's coming in. She walked in, poor child, with her head down, looking very frightened, and sat down on the edge of a very large wooden bedstead. The young man just glanced hastily round at her, and then told his brother to question her. The first question asked was: "How old are you?', and then her name, and then (a question that is always asked now) 'How far have you got on with your reading?' She is in the third book. It was brought and she had to read a little bit of it aloud. I naturally wondered how the mutual knowing and liking each other, of which the young man had spoken, was to be managed in this way. Up to this time, Shushelah's father had been in the room, but he now got up and went away; and then the mother, who of course had kept in the background as long as he was present, came forward, and with tears and piteous words entreated the young man not to take her child away from her yet. She recounted the story of her late sorrow, and begged him to remember that she had only the one child left.

"I did not stay to the end of the interview, though the mother, by many imploring glances, begged me to do so, but my

presence was evidently embarrassing the young man, and so telling him he must not think of marrying or taking away Shushelah yet, as she was much too young, and that I hoped when he did marry her he would be very good to her, I came away.

"I have heard since that the marriage is to take place as soon as that all important examination has been passed, but Shushelah is to be allowed to remain with her mother for two or three years more. How much voice had Shushelah in the matter? Had she had a freedom of choice, how could a child of seven have exercised it? And yet this is a favourable specimen of the way in which these Indian marriages are arranged. In the majority of cases the bride never sees her husband until that part of the marriage ceremony when, a sheet being thrown over them both, they look at each other's faces under it.

"When looking round and observing what a strong hold this custom of child marriage, and many other shameful customs, still has on the people of this land, it is difficult to realise that the foundations are being shaken. But it <u>is</u> so. The undermining process is surely, though slowly, going on ..."[1]

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1. Indian Female Evangelist, Vol.IV, p.77.

APPENDIX A V.

Education in India by Race or Creed for the Official Year 1881-82

MADRAS		HINDUS	MOSLEMS	SIKHS	PARSIS	CHRISTIANS	EUROPEANS and EURASIANS	OTHERS
1.Primary Education	(Boys	2.07	2.55	-	-	6.80	-	22.36
	(Girls	.09	.04	-	-	1.84	-	2.95
2.Secondary Education		85.57	3.47	-	-	9.28	1.15	.53
3.Collegiate "		89.99	1.80	-	-	7.01	1.08	.12
BOMBAY								
Primary Education	(Boys	2.84	2.02	-	9.25	1.74	-	.64
	(Girls	.18	.08	-	5.34	1.13	-	.04
Secondary Education		72.08	4.39	-	13.25	8.14	1.37	.77
Collegiate "		73.48	1.47	-	21.69	1.89	1.05	.42
BENGAL								
Primary Education	(Boys	2.91	2.02	-	-	5.07	-	1.72
	(Girls	.06	.01	-	-	1.96	-	.01
Secondary Education		86.55	11.93	-	-	.79	.10	.63
Collegiate "		92.41	3.87	-	-	1.02	1.42	1.28
N.W.P. & OUDH								
Primary Education	(Boys	.86	1.06	-	-	4.78	-	.34
	(Girls	.03	.09	-	-	7.17	-	.07
Secondary Education		79.16	18.30	-	-	2.41	.03	.10
Collegiate "		86.82	10.32	-	-	2.29	.57	-
PUNJAB								
Primary Education	(Boys	1.27	.64	1.18	-	1.17	-	-
	(Girls	.09	.08	.30	-	3.02	-	-
Secondary Education		59.68	30.02	9.36	-	.76	.10	.08
Collegiate "		81.55	12.63	2.91	-	2.91	-	-
CENTRAL PROVINCES								
Primary Education	(Boys	1.77	3.90	-	-	5.63	-	.25
	(Girls	.07	.10	-	-	3.26	-	-
Secondary Education		87.91	8.91	-	-	.87	1.88	.43
Collegiate "		90.77	7.69	-	-	1.54	-	-
ASSAM								
Primary Education	(Boys	1.76	.81	-	-	16.04	-	1.19
	(Girls	.03	-	-	-	9.15	-	.14
Secondary Education		78.72	14.33	-	-	2.41	.2-	4.34
Collegiate		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
COORG								
Primary Education	(Boys	3.17	1.10	-	-	4.38	-	-
	(Girls	-	-	-	-	1.74	-	-
Secondary Education		98.09	1.27	-	-	.64	-	-
Collegiate "		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
HAIDRABAD A. D.								
Primary Education	(Boys	2.37	4.62	-	12.10	5.05	-	50.0
	(Girls	.03	.09	-	-	2.48	.33	.33
Secondary Education		95.71	2.64	-	-	.99	-	.03
Collegiate "		-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Cont.

TOTAL for INDIA	HINDUS	MOSLEMS	SIKHS	PARSIS	CHRISTIANS	EUROPEANS and EURASIANS	OTHERS
Primary Education (Boys	2.04	1.57	1.06	9.05	5.50	-	1.06
Primary Education (Girls	.07	.05	.27	5.26	2.02	-	.04
Secondary Education	83.67	11.05	.27	1.29	2.62	.37	.73
Collegiate "	89.41	3.65	.06	1.91	3.07	1.18	.72
Proportion of Each Race or Creed to Total Population	73.21	22.36	.62	.04	.45	.08	3.24

N.B. The figures for Primary Education refer to "the percentage of pupils to total male and female population respectively of each race or creed".

The figures for Secondary and Collegiate Education refer to "the percentage of pupils of each race or creed to the total number of pupils on the rolls".

1. Indian Education Commission Report 1884 P.XLII Table 2.
2. Ibid P. LIV Table 3.
3. Ibid P.LXI Table 2.